

THE  
LITERARY REMAINS

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## I.

## ON THE SANSKRIT POET, KA'LIDA'SA. 1860.

KA'LIDA'SA is justly regarded as the greatest of Indian poets and dramatists. His works have been translated not only into some of the vernacular languages of India, but within the last seventy-one years into English, German, French, Danish, and Italian. They are read in the original Sanskrit with greater critical acumen, and in the translations delight a larger number of readers in Europe than in the birth-land of the poet.

Native poets, commentators, and critics are lavish in their praises of Kálidásá ; and it is not a little to his honor that the orientalists Jones, Wilson, Lassen, Chezy, Williams, and Fauche, but also that the poet, critic, and natural philosopher, —Goëthe, Schlegel, and Humboldt respectively, have assigned him a very high position amongst the glorious company of the " Sons of Song."

The four well-known lines of Goëthe in praise of *Sakuntalá* may here be repeated :—

"Would'st thou the young year's blossom and the fruits of its decline,  
And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, feasted, fed ?  
Would'st thou the earth and heaven itself in one sole name combine ?  
I name thee, O Sakoontalá ! and all at once is said."

Alexander Von Humboldt says:—"Kálidásá, the celebrated author of the *Sakuntalá*, is a masterly describer of the influence which nature exercises upon the minds of lovers. This great poet flourished at the splendid court of Vikramáditya, and was therefore contemporary with Virgil and Horace. Tenderness in the expression of feeling and richness of creative fancy have assigned to him his lofty place among the poets of all nations."

Professor Lassen, in his "Indische Alterthumskunde," that wonderful and unrivalled monument of literary and antiquarian research, observes:—"Kálidásá may be considered as the brightest star in the firmament of Indian artificial poetry. He deserves praise, on account of the mastery with which he wielded the language, and the fine sentiment with which he imparts to it a simpler or more artificial form according to the subjects of which he treats without falling into the later hair-splitting and overstepping of the boundaries of good taste; on account of the multifariousness of his creations, his ingenious invention and happy choice of subjects; on account of the complete fulfilment of his poetical intentions; and on account of the beauty of his representations, the tenderness of his feeling, and the richness of his imagination. This praise is mostly deserved by his two Dramas, the *Sakuntalá* and the *Vikramorvasí*. In the composition of these pieces he had only listened to the inspirations of his highly-gifted and conscious spirit, and he shows himself entirely independent of the influence of the school from which Bhavabhúti, who lived about A.D. 710, could not withdraw himself."\*

About seventy-five years ago, Sir William Jones introduced Kálidásá to the notice of the European literary public, by his elegant translation of the Drama *Sakuntalá*. Professor H. H. Wilson gave a charming translation of the *Vikramorvasí*, the "Hero and Nymph," the twinplay of *Sakuntalá*, in his well-known and esteemed work, the "Hindu Theatre," in 1837. The Sanskrit text, with a Latin translation, &c., was published at Berlin by R. Lenz, in 1833. Hirzel published a German translation also in 1833; F. Bollensen at Petersburg in 1846. The Sanskrit text, edited by M. Williams, was published at Hertford in 1848, and a prose translation by E. B. Cowell in 1857. The Sanskrit text of the *Meghadúta*, or

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\* Lassen's Alterthumskunde, Band. ii. p. 1158.

"Cloud-Messenger," with an admirable metrical translation into English, interspersed with many learned notes, was also published in 1832, by the late Professor H. H. Wilson, who combined with profound knowledge of every branch of Sanskrit literature, poetical talent of no ordinary character. This episode has also been edited by Professor Johnson in England, by Mr. J. Gildemeister with the *Sringáratilaka* at Bonn in 1841, and by Dr. Max Müller at Konigsberg. An edition, with Mallinátha's Commentary, has been published at Benares, and the text forms a part of Höeberlin's Sanskrit Anthology, which also contains Kálidásá's *Śrutabodha* and *Ritusanhára*. The *Ritusanhára* has been edited and translated by Bohlen, at Leipzig, in 1840; and the *Śrutabodha* by M. E. Lancereau, at Paris, in 1855.

The "Raghuvansa," a heroic poem, was translated into Latin by Adolphus Fredericus Stenzler, and published in Paris in 1832. A translation into modern Greek was published by Mr. Typaldo, at Athens, in 1849. A metrical translation of the first book, by the Rev. J. M. Mitchell, appears in our Journal for 1843, and an analysis of the whole work by the Rev. J. Long, in the Journal Beng. A. Society for 1852. A. F. Stenzler published in 1838, in Sanskrit and Latin, the first seven Cantos of the *Kumárasambhava*, or "Birth of the War-God," which has also been rendered into English verse by Mr. Ralph T. H. Griffith, and published under the patronage of the "Oriental Translation Committee" in London, 1853. Of this beautiful poem, Mr. Griffith observes that, "The Birth of the War-God was either left unfinished by its author or time has robbed us of the conclusion. The latter is the more probable supposition, tradition informing us that the poem originally consisted of twenty-two cantos." In our search throughout Gujarat and the Deccan for ancient manuscripts, we have been fortunate enough to get three venerable copies of the entire poem, and a fourth one of the 8th, 10th, and 11th chapters, and we intend to take an early

opportunity of publishing the complete work in Sanskrit, with another poem of Kálidásá in Mágadhi, (the Setu-kávya), which has never been brought to the notice of the learned world.

The Sakuntalá, considered the gem of oriental literature, has been excellently translated into English prose by Professor Monier Williams, and published in a superb form in 1853 by Mr. Stephen Austin, who, "with an almost lavish liberality, has done everything to make the vehicle worthy of its contents."

Another edition (1853) with the Devanágari recension, literal English translation, and critical and explanatory notes, is still more valuable to the student of Sanskrit.

In 1842, Otto Böhtlingk edited the Devnágari recension of this play at Bonn. A German version of Sir William Jones's English translation was published by Forster in 1791; and versions of the English have appeared in Danish and Italian. This play, which inspired Goëthe with rapture, led Chezy to learn Sanskrit. Chezy put it into French; Hirzel, Bœhtlingk, Ernst, Meier, and Lobedanz, succeeded one another in rendering it into German prose or verse. Sanskrit editions of the play in Bengali and in Devanágari characters have been published in Calcutta, the last (Gaudíya recension prepared by Premachandra Tarkavágísa Bhattachárya and edited by E. B. Cowell) only a few months ago.

The first volume of a translation of the complete works of Kálidásá, by M. Hippolyte Fauche, appeared last year (1859), and besides the second volume, the author promises an "*Etude*" on the life and works of the Indian Bard.

The Puna Sanskrit College published some years ago an indifferent edition of the Sakuntalá, a few loose cantos of the Raghuvansa, and a single one of Kumárasambhava. The Sanskrit text of the Málavikágnimitra by O. F. Fullbery, and of the Nalodaya by F. Benary, two works attributed to Kálidásá, were published at Bonn (1840) and Berlin respec-

tively ; also a German translation of the former by A. Weber, at Berlin, in 1856.

What, then, is the personal history of the poet, whose works are regarded as so classical, and command the esteem of the learned of all nations, and whose productions have been the subject of so much critical acumen and learned elucidation ?

Even the most accomplished of his native commentators, who is undoubtedly Mallinātha,\* preserves a painful silence as to the personal history of the poet ; and the most eminent orientalists have been compelled to admit, with regret, that not only no connected history of the life of Kālidāsa, and, indeed, of any of the other Sanskrit dramatic poets, can be furnished, but that there is considerable difficulty also in ascertaining the precise time at which the great poet lived.

The title of the Indian Shakspeare has been assigned to Kālidāsa on the authority of that prince of critics, Sir W. Jones. In the case of both Kālidāsa and Shakspeare, it may justly be observed that " their lives remain almost a blank, and their very name a subject of contention."

All that is generally known of Kālidāsa may be stated in a few words. He lived in Ujjayinī or Oujein, and was the noblest of the nine men of genius who graced the court of Vikramāditya. A memorial verse gives the names of these nine " Gems " as follows :—

" Dhanvantari, Kshapanaka, Amara Sinha, Sanku, Vetālabhatta, Ghatakarpura, Kālidāsa, the renowned Varāha Mihira and Vararuchi, are the nine gems of Vikrama."

Of these the most celebrated are said to have been the physician Dhanvantari ; Amara Sinha, the lexicographer ; Varāha Mihira, the astronomer ; Vararuchi, the poet and

\* The age of Mallinātha himself is not clearly established. Mallinātha states that he wrote his Commentary after consulting those of Dakshināvarātha and others. He lived some time after the 14th century.

linguist ; and Kálidása, the poet and dramatist,—the brightest of them of all.

The word Vikramáditya signifies “Sun of Valour,” and was assumed by many kings of Ujjayini and of other kingdoms of India.

The Vikramáditya, at whose court the great Kálidása flourished , is generally believed to be the king who, after defeating the Sakas or Scythians, established the Samvat Era, which commences fifty-seven years before Christ.

Sir William Jones, conceiving the Vikrama mentioned in the “memorial verse” to be the same as the founder of the Samvat Era, places Kálidása in the century preceding the Christian Era. Many eminent Orientalists have followed him in this opinion. He has thus come to be regarded as the contemporary of Horace and Virgil,—the reign of Vikramáditya at Ujjayiní rivalling in brilliancy that of Augustus at Rome.

Mr. Bentley, on the authority of the Bhoja-prabandha\* and the Ayín-i-Akbarí, supposed the patron of learning to be the same as “ Rájá Vikrama, successor to Rájá Bhoja,” in the eleventh century of the Christian Era. Col. Wilford and Mr. James Prinsep place Kálidása in the 5th century, and Mount-stuart Elphinstone adopts this date in his admirable History of India. In Gujarat, Malwa, and the Deccan, Kálidása is believed, chiefly on the authority of the Bhoja-prabandha, to have flourished at the court of Bhoja, the nephew of Munja, at Ujjayiní, in the 11th century of the Christian Era. There

\* M. Theodore Pavie has published the Bhoja-prabandha with a French translation and occasional comments, in the *Jour. Asiatique*, t. iv, sér. 3e, p. 210 *et seq.*

This work is entirely untrustworthy, and has contributed much to mislead the early inquirers into Indian Antiquities. It is now scarcely necessary to point out all the errors of a book the compiler of which, ignorant alike of history and the true character of his heroes, was only bent on producing a light work to suit a modern, degenerated taste.

have been several Bhojas as well as Vikramas or Vikramádityas at Ujjayiní, the last Bhoja having flourished in the 11th century of the Christian Era ; and to reconcile the two suppositions, it is necessary to suppose that the Vikrama or Vikramáditya, at whose court the " nine" learned men flourished, was also styled "Bhoja."

Professor Lassen assumes Kálidásá to have flourished in the second half of the 2nd century after Christ, at the court of Samudragupta, chiefly on account of the designation, " friend of poets," applied to that king in inscriptions.

M. Hippolyte Fauche, who, it appears from the "Saturday Review" of January 1860, has published a French translation of the complete works of Kálidásá, supposes the poet to have lived at the time of the posthumous child, who is said, at the end of the last canto of the Raghuvansa, to have succeeded to the throne.

This would place Kálidásá, at the latest, in the eighth century before Christ. Mons. Fauche thinks there is nothing so perfect in the elegiac literature of Europe as the " Meghadúta " of Kálidásá.

Professor Wilson avoids giving any decided opinion regarding the exact age of Kálidásá, but it is clear that he had grave doubts respecting the contemporaneous existence of the poet with the Vikrama of the Samvat Era.

Colonel Tod, in " the Annals of Rajasthan," vol. i. p. 92. observes, " While Hindoo literature survives, the name of Bhoja Pramára and the nine gems of his court cannot perish ; though it is difficult to say which of the three princes of his name is particularly alluded to, as they all appear to have been patrons of science." In a note, the learned Colonel gives, —Samvat 631 (A. D. 575), Samvat 721\* (A. D. 665), and

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\* We possess a list of remarkable events, compiled by a Jaina priest, in which a Bhoja is said to have " peopled " Ujjayini in Samvat 723.

Samvat 1100 (A. D. 1044), for the first, second, and third Bhojas respectively.

There are good reasons for accepting the above dates as correct. A Vriddha or older Bhoja is described in several Jaina works as having had for his spiritual adviser, Mānatunga Sūri, about the second or third century of the Christian Era, calculating from the lists of Jaina hierarchs; but there is evidently some mistake here. Mānatunga was, according to some Jaina authorities, a contemporary of the poets Bāna and Mayúra, but these two last undoubtedly lived at the beginning of the seventh century, as Bāna, in one of his rare productions in Sanskrit, called the "Harshacharita," describes his visit to Harsha-Vardhana, King of Sríkantha. There is abundant evidence to prove that this king, Harsha-Vardhana Siláditya, is identical with the Siláditya of Kanoge, who honoured the celebrated Chinese Buddhist traveller Hiouen-Thsang. Indeed, the Indian poet and the Chinese traveller relate the history of the king with so much similarity, that one would be disposed to believe that Bāna wrote the Harshacharita after reading the historical notes of the Chinese traveller ; and there is a singular passage in the work which would give a colouring to this supposition, in which Bāna speaks of the Yavana-prayukta-purána.

In looking carefully over the various legends regarding Vikrama, as given in the Vikramacharita ; in the Sinhásana dvátrinsati ; in the Vetálapanchavinsati, an essay on Vikrama and Kálidása by Merutunga ; in the Prabandha-chintámani ; as well as in another called Chaturvinsati-prabandha, by Rájasekhara, it appears tolerably clear that the Vikramáditya, who founded the Samvat Era, or from whom it has its origin, was a just, brave, liberal and ambitious prince; but that he was the patron of arts and sciences is nowhere clearly stated or implied. Jaina records mention Siddhasena Sūri, a learned Jaina priest, as the spiritual adviser of this Vikramáditya.

Since the above remarks were written we have received a complete copy of the Kathá-sarita-ságara, and going carefully over the stories of Vikramáditya, we were surprised to find in the 18th section, the statement that they had been related by the sage Kanva to the king Naraváhanadatta of Kausámbí in Vatsa. This Vikramáditya, the hero of many interesting fables, appears after all, to have flourished previously to the 5th century before Christ, i.e. before Naraváhanadatta, who, according to many Jaina authorities, the Kathá-sarita-ságara and the Matsya-purána, was the grandson of Satánika,\* the contemporary of Mahávira and Sákya Sinha. One of the ancient Nassik cave-inscriptions has a Vikramáditya, celebrated for his glorious deeds in the company of Nabhadága, Nahusha, Janmejaya, Yayáti, and Balaráma.† Thus it is clear that popular ignorance has assigned to Vikramáditya of the Samvat Era, glories to which he is not entitled. The whole subject is so complicated yet interesting, that we shall take an early opportunity of clearing up the history of the "Vikramádityas."

In the Vikrama-charitra, composed by Srí Deva, of which the MS. in our possession was copied in Samvat 1492 (i. e. A. D. 1435), it is stated that 470 years after the nirvána (death) of Vardhamána, the last of the Jaina Tirthankaras, Vikramáditya flourished in Visála (Oujein) in Avanti Desa. He released his subjects from debt and established his own era. There is no allusion to Kálidása.

Except the Jyotirvidábharana, a Sanskrit treatise on astrology, ascribed in the concluding stanzas to Kálidása, we have not met with any work, in the Sanskrit or Mágadhí language, noticing the contemporaneous existence of the "nine gems" at the court of Vikramáditya of the Samvat Era. There are several works which mention a Vikramáditya or

\* Wilson's Vishnu-purána, p. 462.

† Journal Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. v. p. 43.

Bhoja in connection with the patronage of letters and arts, and particularly of Kálidásá ; but the omission of any distinctive appellation leads to the inference that the patron of Kálidásá and other learned men was a later monarch of that name, who was also styled Bhoja.

The conclusion to the *Jyotirvidábharana*, which contains the verse respecting the “ nine gems ” so frequently quoted as a “ memorial verse,” without any one having been able to trace it to its source, is given entire below, as the author enters into chronological details regarding himself not met with in any of the well-known works of the great Kálidásá.

*Translation of Chapter 22, containing twenty-one Verses.*

1. I now proceed to give in order the subjects already treated of, and to describe the joy-producing monarch, Vikrama.

[The 2nd to the 6th verse contains the names of the subjects, and the 6th verse states that the total number of verses in the book are 1,424, and that the book is named “ *Jyotirvidábharana Kávya.* ”]

7. By me has this work been produced in the reign of Vikrama over Málava in Bhárata-varsha, which is rendered delightful by the study of the *Srutis* and *Smritis*, and which contains 180 countries.

8. Sanku, Vararuchi, Mani, Ansudatta, Jishnu, Trilochana, Hari, Ghatakarpura, also Amara Sinha and other poets, adorned his assembly.

9. Satya, Varáha Mihira, Sruta Sena, Sri Bádaráyani, Manittha, and Kumára Sinha, were the astronomers, and myself and other professors of astronomy also.

10. Dhanvantari, Kshapanaka, Amara Sinha, Sanku, Vetalabhatta, Ghatakarpura, Kálidásá, the renowned Varáha Mihira and Vararuchi, are the nine gems of Vikrama.

11. Vikrama flourished, and at his court attended 800 Mándalika (minor) Rajas ; and at the great assembly there were 16 eloquent pandits, 10 astronomers, 6 physicians, and 16 reciters of the *Vedas*.

12. His army occupied 18 yojanas of ground ; his forces consisted of 3 crores of infantry, 10 crores of cavalry, 24,300 elephants, and 400,000 boats. No monarch could be compared to him.

13. He celebrated his victory over the world by the destruction of ninety-five Saka chiefs, and established his era in the Kaliyuga ; and by daily giving in alms, pearls, gold, jewels, cows, horses and elephants, he brightened the face of dharma.

14. He destroyed the proud king of Drávida, also the king of Láta, defeated the king of Gauda, and conquered him of Gurjardesa, removed the darkness of Dhárá, delighted the king of Kámboja, and conducted himself with success.

15. His prowess and qualities were like those of Indra, Ambodhí, Amaradru, Smara, and Meru. He was the delight of his subjects, and humbled his enemies by conquering and restoring their forts to them.

16. He protects the capital Ujjayiní, the great city which gives beatitude to its inhabitants, and which is celebrated for the presence of Mahákála.

17. In a great battle he conquered the king of the Sakas in Ruma, paraded his royal prisoner in Ujjayiní, and afterwards set him free. Such was his irresistible prowess.

18. Whilst Vikrama thus reigned in Avanti, the people enjoyed prosperity, happiness, and wealth, and the injunctions of the Vedas were everywhere observed.

19. Sanku and many other pandits and poets, and Varáha Mihira and other astronomers, flourished at his court. They respect the genius of me, who am a friend of the king.

20. Having first composed three Kávyas, *i. e.* the Raghuvansa and others, I composed several treatises on Vedic subjects (*Sruti Karmaváda*) ; then from Kálidása proceeded the astrological treatise called Jyotirvidábharana.

21. 3068 years of Kali having passed, in the month of Vaisákha I commenced composing the work, and completed it

in the month of Kártika. Having zealously examined many astronomical works, I have composed this treatise for the edification of astronomers."

In verse 46 of the 20th chapter he says:—

"The people of Kámboja, Gauda, Andhraka, Málava, Surájya, and Gurjara, sing even to the present day the glory of Vikrama, shining with the liberality of gifts of gold."

The existence of so distinct a statement in an astrological work of some pretensions to antiquity would have set the question of Kálidásá's epoch at rest, but from a careful examination of its style, and from other internal evidence, it does not appear to be the production of the great Kálidásá.

In furnishing a rule for finding out the Ayanánsa (the arc between the vernal equinoctial point and the beginning of the fixed Zodiac or first point of Aries) we are told in the work that from the number of years after Saka (*i. e.* the era of Sáliváhana, A.D. 78), 445 years should be subtracted, and the remainder divided by 60. This alone proves that the treatise was written at least seven centuries after the Vikrama Samvat, and there is abundant evidence to prove that the real author was of the Jaina persuasion. Also as Jishnu, the father of Brahmagupta,\* is stated to have graced the court of Vikramá-ditya in addition to the "nine gems," it is clear that the

\* Brahmagupta gives the following date for the composition of his Siddhánta, of which we possess an excellent manuscript copy made in Samvat 1678.

श्रीचापं शतिलके श्रीव्याघ्रसुखेन्द्रपेशकन्दपातात् ॥ पञ्चाशत्युक्तौ वैर्धशतः  
पंचमितीतैः ॥ १ ॥ ब्राह्मः स्फुटसिद्धांतः सज्जनगणितज्ञगोलविदीलैः ।  
त्रिंशद्वर्षेण्टतो जिष्णुतब्रह्मगुप्तेन ॥ २ ॥ अथाय २४—आद्य ७-८ ।

*Translation.*—'In the reign of Sri Vyaghramukha, of the Sri Chāpa dynasty, five hundred and fifty years after Saka king (*i.e.* Sáliváhana, or A.D. 628) having passed, Brahmagupta, the son of Jishnu, at the age of thirty composed the Brahmagupta Siddhánta for the edification of mathematicians and astronomers.' Chap. xxiv. A'ryā 7-8.

author of the Jyotirvidábharana is sufficiently modern to have confounded Harsha Vikramáditya of Ujjayiní, in the 6th century, with the founder of the Samvat Era.

The “memorial verse” so often quoted by learned men in proof of the existence of the “nine gems,” at the court of Vikrama, thus loses completely its value as an authority. Besides, it is very doubtful whether there was any poet with the appellation of Ghatakarpala, the Kávya bearing that title in many manuscripts being attributed to Kálidása.

Another writer, who assumes the title of Kálidása, is the author of Satruparábhava-grantha, an astrological work treating of favourable opportunities for action, by determining the predominance of “svara” or breath, through the right or left nostril.

The first and last verses are as follows :—

नत्वा सुराहुरशिरीमण्डिरलक्ष्मि चित्रोङ्कातांधियुगलं हरिमादिदेवं ॥ श्रीकालिदासगणकः स्वरशालसारं वक्ष्याम्यहं प्रबलशत्रुपराभवारथं ॥ १ ॥

आसोत् कश्यपवंशजोक्तंनयातीराधिवासोदिजः श्रीतस्मार्तविचारसारचहुरः  
श्रीभासुभट्टःसुधोः ॥ तत्पु लोहरिभक्तिनिमंलतसुज्योतिर्विदामयणीः शास्त्रंशत्रुः-  
पराभवाख्यभक्तरोत् श्रीकालिदासः कविः ॥ २ ॥

*Translation.*—“I, Kálidása Ganaka, after making obeisance to Hari, the A'di Deva, whose joint feet are resplendent with the rays of the jewels in the crowns of the Gods and Demons, proceed to give the substance of Svara Sástra, called Satruparábhava-grantha.

“Deeply versed in the knowledge of the Srutis and Smritis, and born in the race of Kasyapa, there lived on the banks of the Arkatanayà (Jumna), the talented Bhánubhatta bráhmaṇa. His son, whose body has been purified by devotion to Hari, is the poet Kálidása, the first among astrologers. He composed the Sástra, called Satruparábhava.”

In the following (30th) verse, he says :—“To the current

Saka year add 12 and divide the sum by 60, the remainder is the year of the human cycle and the eleventh from it is the order of the Bárhaspatya cycle," (i. e. the cycle of Jupiter).

शकेसाके० हृतेखांगैः शेषेव्दः प्रभवादिकः  
मनुष्यमानत स्तखाज्जीवैःस्वादीशसंचितः ॥ १ ॥

He invokes Ganapati and then Vishnu. It is clear that he lived long after Sáliváhana ; and the style shows that he is not the author of the Sakuntalá and Raghuvansa.

Colonel Wilford, in an elaborate essay on Vikramáditya and Sáliváhana, gives a large collection of ill-digested facts, with his usual proportion of the wildest speculations on them; but it is not necessary to point out here all the mistakes that are patent to us, so that we shall deal only with those that relate immediately to the subject under consideration. Thus he writes :—“ In the Satrunjaya Máhátmya we read that after 466 years of the era are elapsed, then would appear the great and famous Vikramáditya ; and then, 477 years after him, Sailaditya or Bhoja would reign.

“ In the Ayeen Akbari, the various dates from the era of Vikramáditya are to be reckoned from the accession to the throne, in the middle ages of the Christian Era.”\*

The Satrunjaya Máhátmya is a Jaina work, an abstract of which in the original Sanskrit, with a German translation, has been published by Weber (Leipzig, 1858). It professes to be the composition of Dhanesvara Súri, at the request of a Siláditya of Valabhí, glorifying the Satrunjaya mountain, which is the same as the hill of Palitána in Kattiarwar. The original passage is as follows :—

अस्त्राच्चिराण्टोवैलिभिः सार्वेषु भासकैः ॥ धर्मविप्लावकः अक्षयं च मारो  
भविष्यति ॥ १ ॥ ततः शतैश्चतुर्भिः यद्युपदिभिर्बहुर्दिवैः ॥ एवं च चत्वारिंशता-

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\* Asiatic Researches, vol. ix, p. 142. The same opinions are repeated at p. 156.

पि विक्रमाकोमहीचित्यां । २ ॥ सिद्धसेनोपदेशेनान्वयोक्तव्यजिनोक्तवत् ॥ अस्मि-  
त्युं वत्सरं लुभु । स्त्रीयाविष्कारिष्यति ॥ ३ ॥ इति शत्रुंजयमाहात्मे १४ सर्गे । \*

Víra i. e. Mahávíra or Vardhamána, the last of the Jaina Tirthankaras says :—

"Three years and five months and a half after my nirvána (death) there will be O'Indra, the 5th árá ; [a chronological period according to an artificial arrangement of the Jainas] ; and 466 years and 45 days after it, [the 5th árá] Vikramárka Rájá, honouring the advice of Siddhasena Súri as the words of Jina, will free the earth from debt, and, setting aside the current era, will establish his own."

It is clear then from this text, which we have collated with three old MSS. in our possession, that the Samvat Era replaced that of Vardhamána or Mahávíra after 470 years. The same statement is made in several Jaina works of the Svetámbara sect which are in our possession. Colonel Wilford and his Pandits (the latter probably on purpose) confounded Víra with Vikramáditya, who is also called Víra Vikrama,—Víra, signifying valorous : and further, by ignoring the first three and a half or four years, they have at one stroke thrown into their calculations a mistake of 470 years.

The 477 years after Vikrama, i. e. A. D. 420, is the date when, according to the Satrunjaya Máhátmya, Siláditya, king of Valabhi, expelled the Buddhists from Sauráshtra, recovered Satrunjaya and other places of pilgrimage from them, and erected many Jaina temples.†

\* Ueber das Satrunjaya Máhátmyam von Albrecht Weber, Leipzig, 1858, p. 92. Weber's text has सार्वाद्यमासकैः which would make a difference of three months. The text we have quoted is from two admirable manuscripts in our possession,

+ Weber, ibid, p. 109, verse 286.—

सप्तसप्ततिथ्वद्वांतामतिक्रम्यचतुःशतीम् विक्रमाकांच्छत्रादित्योभविताधर्मदृष्टि-  
त्वा ॥ सर्ग १४ औक २८६ ।

Few Orientalists now a days rely upon the speculations of Colonel Wilford; but some of his errors are still supported and perpetuated by distinguished writers on Indian Antiquities.

Professor H. H. Wilson meets with difficulties in reconciling the statements of the Rájatarangini or History of Kásmir, on the assumption of Vikrama's existence at Ujjayini in the 5th century (Asiatic Researches, vol. xv., p. 39); but he observes (p. 87): "It seems likely that the VIKRAMA'DITYA, who put the Brahman MA'TRICUPTA on the throne of Cashmír, was the prince of that name who lived in the 5th century, or in 441." "The VIKRAMA'DITYA of the 5th century reigned, it is said, 100 years, dying in A. D. 541, but according to the Satrunjaya Mágátmya, Siláditya was king in 447." Here, besides admitting Colonel Wilford's erroneous data in regard to Vikrama, a second incorrect assumption is made of the identity of the Siláditya of the Satrunjaya Mágátmya, with Siláditya, the son and successor of Harsha Yikramáditya. The Siládityas have become as great a source of confusion in Indian chronology as the various Vikramádityas and Chandraguptas; and, to prevent repetition, we shall here remark that the oldest Siláditya we read of in the Jaina records is the son of Subhaga, daughter of Deváditya Bráhmaṇa, of the village of Khatá in Gurjardesa.

Subhaga became a widow in her childhood, but according to the chronicles of Gujarat\* conceived afterwards by the Sun and gave birth to twins. The male child became renowned as Siláditya. He destroyed the king of Valabhi and became the lord of Sauráshtra; but was himself slain in the sack of Valabhi in A.D. 319 by the Mlechas or Sakas.† This is the date of the commencement of the Valabhi Samvat, first made out by Col. Tod from an inscription.‡

\* "Rás-Málá or Hindoo Annals of the Province of Goozerat in Western India." By Alexander Kinloch Forbes, Vol. I., p. 13 *et seq.*—Mr. Forbes' work is a most valuable contribution to the annals of Gujarat.

† They are called "Sakas", by Merutunga and Rájasekhara.

‡ Tod's "Annals of Rajasthan." Vo. I, p. 801

In our opinion, it is also the commencement of the Gupta Kála or the Gupta Era, although apparently, weighty arguments have been adduced to show that this era commenced with the overthrow of the Gupta Dynasty. The dynasty has been brought to light by the translation of the inscription on the Allahabad column by Dr. Mill, subsequently revised by Mr. Prinsep, also by the numismatic researches of Prinsep, Lassen, Thomas, and Cunningham. The inscription\* facing the north, on the stone near Junágada which was copied in 1842, by General LeGrand Jacob and N. L. Westergaard, contains allusions to Skandagupta; and the date one hundred and thirty-seven of the Gupta Era, when Parnadatta constructed a bridge over the Palásini.

The second Siláditya was of the Yadu family. He ruled over Sauráshtra at the commencement of the fifth century and has already been noticed. He presided over 18 Rájás at Valabhí, which was therefore then in existence.

The third Siláditya is the one noticed by Col. Tod, as having been killed at the sack of Valabhí by barbarians in A. D. 524.† Some important change appears undoubtedly to have occurred about this time in the government of Valabhí,

\* This copy is published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for April 1842. We hope soon to be able to give a translation of the inscription. "Up to this time no more satisfactory account of its purport and contents can be given than is to be found in the brief notice published by Prinsep in April 1838."—(Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, by Thomas, 1858, Vol. I. p. 247). We may here add that, in our opinion, the Kuhaon pillar inscription is dated in the 141st year of the Gupta Dynasty, in the reign of Skandagupta, and not after his decease, as deciphered by Prinsep. (*Ibid.* p. 250.)

† Tod's "Annals of Rajasthan." Vol. I. p. 217.—In the numerous Jaina works in our possession, we have not met with any account of the destruction of Valabhí in A. D. 524, and as Col. Tod's account of the catastrophe is very similar to what is related to have occurred in A. D. 319, it is probable that two different dates have been assigned to the same event.

as the date appears to correspond with the establishment of the dynasty of the kings commencing with Bhattraka Senāpati, brought to light in Mr. Wathen's *Valabhi copper-plate grants*\*; their dates 365 and 380 being from the Valabhi, and not from the Vikramāditya Samvat, as hitherto supposed.

There are four *Silādityas* noticed in these "Grants" as belonging to the dynasty. Harshavardhana of Canoge, the patron of Bāna and Hiouen-Thsang, and the subject of a biography by both with extraordinary coincidence of facts, had, it appears, the title of "Silāditya"† and the Chinese pilgrim, also gives the title to a king of Malwa, who ruled about 60 years before this period. The "Rājatarangini" applies the title to the son and successor of Harsha-Vikramādityas of Ujjayini. This exhausts the list of "Silāditya" known to us at present.

To return to the "Rājatarangini," we subjoin a translation of that portion of the 3rd Book which is calculated to throw light on the subject under consideration. In the words

\* *Journal Bengal Asiatic Society*, Vol. IV. p. 497.—Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, by Thomas, Vol. I. 252 *et seq.* The King of Valabhi who was contemporary with Hiouen-Thsang (about A. D. 644) is styled "Dhruvapattah?" He was, according to the Chinese pilgrim, a son-in-law of the son of Harshavardhana or *Silāditya*.—Hiouen-Thsang speaks of the kingdom of Valabhi, but gives no description of the city beyond its extent. He visited A'ndapura, the modern Wadnagara according to the learned author of the *Bās-Mālā*. This Dhruvapattah is to be identified with Mahārāja Dharapattah of the *copper-plate grants*.

The "Kalpa-Sūtra" of the Svetāmbara Jainas is said to have been publicly read at A'ndapura in the reign of Dhruvasena, the son of Virasena, in A. D. 466. If he be one of the kings noticed in the *copper-plate grants*, the event is ante-dated by about a century. (See the "Kalpa-Sūtra" and "Nava-Tatva," translated by the Rev. J. Stevenson, D. D., London, 1848, p. 96.)

† "Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-Thsang traduite du Chinois par Stanislas Julien, Paris 1853, p. 220 *et seq.* Also "Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales," par M. Stanislas Julien, Paris 1858.

of Kalhana Pandit, "The history of the three kings Vikramáditya, Mátrigupta and Pravarasena, who resembling each other, in their dispositions for virtue, [and therefore having] honored each other, resembles the water of Gangá, which flows in three channels," ("Rājatarangini," verse 323, Book 3rd.)\*

TRANSLATION OF THE "RAJATARANGINI." BOOK III.

102.† Hiranya and Toramána his [Sreshthasena's], two sons and successors destined to govern together the kingdom as King and Minister, were the delight of the world.

\* Professor Wilson observes (Asiatic Researches. Vol. XV., p. 1.) "The only Sanskrit composition yet discovered to which the title of "History" can with any propriety be applied, is the Rājatarangini, a History of Cashmīr." \* \* \*

The portion translated by us is by "Kalhana Pandit," who wrote about A.D. 1148. We have consulted the Calcutta ed. A.D. 1835; the Sanskrit text, and also the French translation by Mons. Troyer.

Wherever we have given a different translation from the learned French Sanskrit scholar, we have done so intentionally, and with the sanction of the best Pandits on this side of India. The following remarks of Mr. E. Thomas, on the period of Kashmīrian history under review, are, we think, perfectly correct:—"Major Cunningham's ratiocinations towards the general settlement of the relative epochs, is based primarily upon the assumed fact of Hiranya and Toramāna having been contemporaries of the 3rd Vikramāditya of Ujain (S. 466—A. D. 409), whom the author, in preparatory training for the more complete development of the same idea in his subsequent works, identified with the Chandragupta of the Gupta-Coin Series, and the 3rd Vikramāditya. I do not at all wish to contest that, there may have been one of the many monarchs who assumed the supplementary titular designation of 'Vikramāditya' ruling over Malwa at, or about this period, and that, the potentate in question, may well have been a contemporary of Toramāna of Kashmīr, whom, judging from the style of writing on his coins, I should not desire to place so early as Wilson and Troyer have done."—(Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, by Thomas, Vol. II., p. 242.)

+ The "numbers" refer to the Slokas in Troyer's edition.

103. Toramána, having suppressed the multitude of small coins [or coins struck by Bálá] that were current, put in circulation "dinars" struck in his own name.

104. The elder of the Kings, said to himself, "How he despises me, and acts as if he were the sole sovereign," and in anger, he caused him [Toramána] to be thrown into prison.

105. Anjaná, the daughter of Vajrendra, of the family of Ikshváku, the spouse of the captive, whose long imprisonment made her forget her grief, became pregnant.

106. She was informed by her husband that her delivery was near. Having entered not without shame, into the house of a potter, she was delivered of a son.

107. This child of the King was brought up with care by the wife of the potter as if he had been her own son, just as a young cuckoo is nourished by a female crow.

108. Thus he was known to his mother and to the potter's wife, his guardian, as a hidden treasure is known to [our mother] earth and to the guarding serpent.

109. The King's son being, according to the declaration of his mother, grand-son of Pravarasena, was named by the potter's wife after his grand-father.

110. The child while growing refused to mix with his [low] neighbours : as the Lotus, delighting in the friendship of the sun, avoids the contact of the waters.

111. The people saw him with astonishment in the games, when associated with young people of noble family and with those who were endowed with valor and with knowledge.

112. Distinguished by his company for very great vigour, he was created 'king' by the young men, as the young lion is acknowledged superior by other young wild beasts that prowl in the forests.

113. He skilfully managed, treated kindly or subjugated the young people, and never behaved in a manner unbecoming a rājá.

114. Having received a mass of loam, placed before him by the potters to make pitchers and other similar things, he formed of them a series of Siva-lingas.

115. Admirable in his conduct,—as he was one day playing, he was noticed by Jayendra, his (maternal) uncle, who made him happy by the attention bestowed upon him.

116. Jayendra having been introduced by the children to him, the young man received him [his uncle] as a king [viz.] regarded him with haughtiness

117. Jayendra seeing so many proofs of vigour, concluded that he was not descended from a vulgar family, and on account of his resemblance to the husband of his sister, suspected him to be her son.

118. With a desire to discover the truth without delay, he followed him, and on arriving in the house, he saw his sister with painful surprise.

119. The brother and sister contemplated each other long with sadness, and allowed their warm tears, interrupted by sighs, to flow freely.

120. The supposed son of the potter's wife asked : "Mother, who are these two persons?" She replied : "My child, this is thy mother, and that, thy (maternal) uncle."

121. Jayendra, after having instructed the young man, who was indignant at the imprisonment of his father, that he must with patience wait for a favourable opportunity, departed to accomplish his design.

122. Whilst Jayendra was preparing himself for the work of vengeance, Toramána, a sun amongst men, died.

123. Then Pravarasena, dissuaded his mother from devoting herself to death ; but being afflicted, and therefore impelled by desire for pilgrimage to the holy places, proceeded to distant regions.

124. Hiranya also, after having governed the country during thirty-one years less ten months, died without leaving posterity.

125. At the same time, the Srimána Vikramáditya, otherwise called Harsha, ruled in Ujjayiní, as Emperor of all India.

126. The goddess Sri served this king, who was blessed with unusual happiness, by attaching herself to him with pleasure, having, for him, abandoned the arms of Hari and the four Oceans.

127. Making use of wealth, as a means [of usefulness], he made the virtues flourish ; and thus, till this day, men of talent sit with their heads high in the midst of rich people.

128. Having first destroyed the Sakas, he made easy the burden of the work to Hari, who was to descend to the earth to exterminate the Mlechas.

129. The Kavi, named Mátrigupta, went to see the lord of the world whose fame had extended to distant countries, and who was then seated in the midst of an assembly of accomplished men, to whom he was always accessible.

130. The poet, who had accumulated wisdom in different situations, having thought of the marvellous greatness of the king's good qualities and depth of understanding, abandoned himself to the following reflection :—

131. "This protector of the world, so fond of men of talent, was found by me through my good acts. The history of former kings only brings out the greater excellence of this monarch.

132. "During his reign the servants who know the Sástras perfectly, and who are versed in the Vedas, are never deprived of the manifestation of respect due to rank and quality.

133. "The councillor, making with spirit an exposition of his project before him, never experiences the inutility of his skill, as the entreaties of a woman of family, are never neglected by her lord.

134. "As he stops the discourses of the malicious, and distinguishes that which is convenient from that which is not, —true merit in serving him never loses its reward.

135. "Before him, men of talent never feel themselves mortified by seeing well-instructed men placed on the same level with ignorant ones.

136. "The distribution of favors fixed according to a just standard by some one who knows how to judge us, is never envied by generous souls with frequent sighs.

137. "This King, who discovers the hearts of men, receiving with just honors the talent peculiar to each, encourages the efforts of all those who surround him.

138. "The fatigue produced by the skilful zeal of the servants serving the master who takes notice of their pains, is never considered as the sale of ice on Mount Himavat [fruitless].

139. "The man who has a false reputation for merit, never enjoys the confidence of this King ; a quarreller is never his counsellor ; a violator of his promises never occupies a place at the court of this monarch.

140. "His domestic servants never make use of improper language, they neither attack each other with bad pleasantries, nor with discourses that wound the heart, neither are they jealous of the approach of others, nor are they conspirators.

141. "This King never sees the faces of people who seek their own interests only, who boast of their own knowledge, and who are blinded by the pride of universal knowledge.

142. "A conversation with the monarch leads to increasing prosperity, which suffers no interruption from persons of low birth and bad morals.

143. "If, by my merits I am introduced to the King, who is free from all vice, and is worthy of veneration, then the fulfilment of my wishes is not distant.

144. "Endowed with profound intelligence, a discerner of merit, and of a firm disposition, this King appears to be worthy of being served, by me who feel freed from all fears of difficulties.

145. "Yes, wandering upon this earth, I do not see any other master so worthy of respect as he,—who is not like other kings, that delight in depriving people of their wealth."

146. Having made these sound reflections, how should not he have desired this so-to-say, new society. How would he not have joined himself to the society of the learned by going amongst them !

147. The King observed the intrinsic capacity of the man who sought to be employed, and who showed his qualities slowly.

148. He reflected thus :—"This man of great mind might well be more than an ordinary man of talent, and his merit deserving of reward."

149. Having so reflected, the Rájá, in order also to test his character by submitting it to trial, did none of those honours to him which are usually paid on receptions.

150. The sage, in spite of this want of favor, knowing that the King was of a benevolent disposition and entertained very liberal sentiments, served him very contentedly.

151. The zeal of the sage which increased from day to day, was taken no more notice of by the King than if it had come from a part of his own attendants.

152. Nevertheless, by a perseverance which never exceeded the just measure, as an autumnal night neither too long nor too short pleases the moon, the King was propitiated by him.

153. Mátrigupta did not allow himself to be disconcerted either by the jokes of the slaves of the house, or the changing stratagems of the chamberlains, or by the mendacious praises of infamous debauchees.

154. When the King spoke to him kindly he remained firm as *dháyá-graha*; (*i. e.* did not become elated), neither did he become irritated when neglected by his master.

155. Being a man of discernment, he never turned his head towards the King's slave-women, nor associated with

people lying under the displeasure of the King ; and whilst with the Rājā, never held conversation with menials.

156. He never incurred the displeasure of the King, which might have been excited against him by the people of the court; by habitual backbiters around the King, or by those who lived upon espionage.

157. He did not suffer himself to be seduced into relaxation of zeal by those who were opposed to a zealous performance of duty, and who daily repeated that from perseverance in the King's service no recompense was to be hoped for, and other similar sentiments.

158. He took every opportunity of proclaiming the merits of others and by modestly exhibiting his own learning, gained the hearts of honest men.

159. Thus, in serving the King with the greatest zeal and without discouragement, Mātrigupta spent six seasons (one year).

160. As the Rājā was going out one day, and saw this man, emaciated, grey haired, and dressed in old clothes, he began to reflect within himself thus :—

161. " This stranger full of merit, without protection, without friends and relatives, has been subjected to much suffering on my account, who desired to test his firmness.

162. " Who is his protector ? Who feeds, who clothes him ? Alas ! all this has never been considered by me, who am overcome by his superiority.

163. " He, a human tree, becoming attenuated by cold, by wind and by the heat of the sun, has hitherto not been visited by me with one single ray of vernal light.

164. " Who offers him relief when he is sick, refreshment when he is fatigued, consolation when he is in despair ? Who offers him anything, when he is in want of everything ?

165. " I cannot give him the jewel of desire, nor the nectar of immortality." Oh, that this man who has so faith-

fully served me, should have been put to so rude a trial on my account, without reason !

166. " By what manifestation of favor shall I discharge my debt to him who is full of merit, and whom I have so reduced by such severe treatment ? "

167. After the king had made these reflections, no opportunity offered itself to him for a long time of rewarding this servant in a manner commensurate with his own good wishes towards him.

168. Then came on winter, when the whole body is frozen, as it were, by cold winds and falling snow.

169. The regions subjected to such severe cold and under continual darkness appeared as if covered by a blue veil.

170. As the sun, this jewel of heaven, tormented by the cold, and desirous of enjoying the sub-marine fire, hastened, so to speak, to rejoin the ocean, the days decreased in length.

171. One day, the King fortunately awoke at midnight, in his palace which was lit by the light of lamps and blazing furnaces.

172. He saw before him the lamps much agitated by the winds of winter, which, rude and noisy, had made their way through the small holes in the house and had extinguished them.

173. Desiring to relight the lamps, he called to the servants who watched through the night outside, saying, " Who is there ? "

174. And while they were all dead asleep, a voice replied from thence, " Rájá, he who is before thee, Mátrigupta, here am I."

175. " Enter," said the King, and this order having been given by the Rájá himself, he entered without being challenged into the palace, rendered delightful by the presence of Lakshmi, the goddess of prosperity.

176. " Light the lamps !" continued the King, which

having been done by cautious steps, Mátrigupta began to retire, when the King added :—“Wait a moment.”

177. Mátrigupta, doubly suffering from fright and cold, and distracted by the thought of not knowing what the King might be about to say to him, sat down trembling at a short distance from his majesty.

178. Then the King asked : “How much of the night he has waned !” He replied : Virtuous lord, only one watch of the night remains.”

179. Then the Monarch continued, “How knowest thou so well the time of the night ? Hast thou had no sleep this night ?”

180. Mátrigupta in a moment, composed the following sloka, and reciting it to the King, informed his majesty of his case, being ready to abandon at once hope or misery :—

181. “Where is the sleep of a man who is tormented by cold ; who is plunged during one whole, unhappy month into an ocean of grief ; who blows with blistered tips the smouldering fire ; whose throat is contracted with hunger? My sleep has gone far from me, like an ill-treated, repudiated wife, and my night is not shortened after the manner that the land granted to a good person never deteriorates.”

182. The King having heard this sloka, and having consoled, by kind words, the great poet who was thus burthened with sadness, sent him back to his former place.

183. And then reflected thus :—“Shame upon me, who having heard the discourse of this man, full of burning grief and suffering with all his merits, have nevertheless left him in the same state.”

184. “Believing that my kind words are useless like those of other men and not knowing my heart, no doubt he has again sat down outside overwhelmed with grief.

185. “Although I have been most anxiously considering for a long time what precious and worthy favor I could confer upon him, yet nothing has occurred to me up to this moment,

186. "His skilful speech however, calls to my memory, that at present, the desirable kingdom of Kásmíra is without a ruler.

187. "Let me then give that country to this worthy man, and let me put aside other princes for this purpose, although they be powerful and rich."

188. Having taken this firm resolution, the King secretly sent messengers that very night to the Council of Kás-míra.

189. And the following order, viz :—"Let the person named Mátrigupta, as soon as possible after he shows you this order, be installed king of Kásmíra."

190. The King having got his order written and completed the business, and the messengers having departed, retired for the remainder of the night.

191. Mátrigupta, believing his conversation with the King had been useless, gave up all hope and thus even, felt as if relieved of a burden.

192. He also thought within himself thus :—"What was to be done, is done ; my uncertainty is at an end to-day ; abandoning the demon of hope, I shall now walk without care."

193. "How I erred in attaching myself to the service of another ! what have I learnt by following the discourse of the people but servitude ?

194. The troops of serpents which nourished themselves alone by wind, are called (*bhogina*) eaters ; the elephants who chase away bees that hum so sweetly are distinguished by the name of (*vistírna karna*) possessors of great [good] ears ; the tree which contains fire in its bosom, is called (*samí*) calm : thus, in the loose and useless language of the world, everything is misrepresented.

195. "Nevertheless this King is accessible to everybody, and through him the houses of his friends become dear to Lakshmí, the goddess of prosperity.

196 "What then, is the fault of this liberal Monarch who

is so free from all vice ? Rather must my want of virtue be blamed as the obstacle to my fortune.

197. "When the sea dispersing its brilliant waves of pearls is so opposed by the winds, that they are pushed back from the shore, it is certainly the misfortune of the person who seeks a benefit, and not want of liberality on the part of those who would bestow it.

198. "To those who seek benefit quickly, the servants of the king are esteemed great, and not their lords who are not to be propitiated except by severe labour,

199. "Those who maintain themselves at the feet of the lord of beings (*Siva*) do not obtain first anything but the ashes, but those who attach themselves to his Bull, what happy days do they procure for themselves for ever by the acquisition of the brilliant gold !

200. "But by reflection, I see no fault in myself, which having been remarked by this King whom I have served, might have made him conceive aversion for me.

201. "Besides, who is he, who not having been honorably presented by another, could, even with pains, expect to receive favors ?

202. "The ocean changes into precious pearls the drops of water, which first attracted by the clouds, afterwards fall down again from them ; receives them, and after they have been seized by the bracelets of the waves, they roll for ever into its bosom. It is thus, that often when introduced with respect by another, a man, although of slight merit, is honored by the King."

203. Having made these reflections, he began to neglect all manifestations of respect. Even the mind of a man of steady principles is led astray when overwhelmed with misery.

204. When the night had passed, and King at morn sat in the assembly, he said to the chamberlain, "Let Mātrigupta be called ?"

205. And after more than one chamberlain had been

despatched, Mātrigupta, resembling a man who had become hopeless, entered and approached the King.

206. Having inclined himself several times, the King by a movement of his brow caused a writing to be given to him through his chief Secretaries.

207. Then he spoke to him himself as follows :—“Friend, knowest thou the country of Kāsmīra ? go there and present this order to the authorities of the country.

208. “Accursed be he by me who reads this writing on the road ! Let this be carefully remembered, and let it never be forgotten.”

209. Not knowing the intention of the King, and expecting nothing but misery himself, Mātrigupta saw in this order nothing but a burning fire, and not the growing splendor of a jewel.

210. He replied : “Thy order shall be obeyed.” Mātrigupta having departed, the King remained without pride, as before, in conversation with his intimates.

211. Then the King was blamed, when Mātrigupta was seen to depart unprovided for the journey ; on account of his being feeble, incapable of supporting fatigue, and entirely without friends.

212. It seemed strange, that the King should employ this man who was so respectable, in an affair fit only for the vulgar.

213. This inconsiderate king, considered they, thinks Mātrigupta nothing but a common man, one too, who served him day and night, suffering fatigue without hope. The King thinks him only fit for toil and trouble.

214. It often happens that the servant who takes every opportunity of serving his master is not thought fit for anything better.

215. Desirous of attaining happiness by re-assuring himself against *Garuda*, the formidable enemy of serpents, Sesha left his previous happy state and converted his body

into a bed for *Vishnu*, the enemy of the Asuras ; but the painful task of carrying the burden of the earth which has no limits, was imposed upon him by this god, who knew his capacity for supporting fatigue.

216. This skilful man, who saw himself superior in talent to the able men who were patronized by the King, served the King with hope.

217. Who is there more discriminate, who has shown more qualities than *this Mátrigupta*? and thus it is that the prince has honored this man of merit,

218. The peacock thinks thus :—"The cloud is pleased by a variety of resplendent forms, although the rainbow, which is the weapon of *Sakra*, is only an unsubstantial one. When he shall have seen my tail with affection, what agreeable favors will it not shower down on me?" He thinks thus, and spreading out the circle of his tail dances round. But the cloud after all, only presents him with a few drops of water. Who is more heartless than the cloud ?

219. No suspicion, however, of his future greatness arose in the mind of *Mátrigupta*, as he travelled on and without anxiety.

220. But at length aroused to splendid expectations by signs foreboding happiness.

221. He saw in a dream, on the road, a little bird (*Khanjarita*,) seated upon the forepart of the crest of a serpent; and then he saw himself raised to the top of a palace and carried across the ocean.

222. Versed in the Sástras, he thought thus :—"On account of these signs which announce happiness, the mission, with which the king has entrusted me, will produce good."

223. "How small soever the advantage may be that I can at first acquire among the people of Kásmíra, will it not in course of time increase, on account of the grandeur of this infinitely rich country?"

224. Thus he travelled on without pain ; the hospitable

houses and good receptions of the inhabitants favouring him at every step.

225. At last he saw before him Mount Hima reaching to the sky, covered with verdure and waving trees, and white like a beautiful vase of coagulated milk, full of good omen.

226. Winds that bore the perfume of the gum of the *sarala* [cypress] tree, and drops of the Ganga, came to meet him whilst he was approaching these fertile and renowned lands.

227. He reached the place called Kramavarta, and the town of Kambuva, which yet exists under the name of Súrapura.

228. In this place, which was filled with a varied population, he heard, that the great councillors of Kasmira had become assembled for some business.

229. Then, having thrown off his old vestments, and having dressed himself in white robes, he went to them in order to present the King's letter.

230. As during his walk, omens announcing his fortune had appeared, some travellers followed him in order to see the results of these signs.

231. The porters having been informed that an envoy from Vikramáditya had arrived, announced him quickly to the councillors of Kasmira.

232. "Let him come, let him enter," was repeated on all sides; and he freely approached the assembled chiefs.

233. Having received him as a prime minister of the King with the usual honors, they made him sit upon a distinguished seat which they assigned to him.

234. After which honors, he was interrogated by the Councillors as to the order of the great King, when he presented the "writing" with much shyness to them.

235. Then bowing themselves to the "writing" of the King, they held a secret meeting, and having opened the "writing" and read it in a low voice, they said respectfully :—

236. "Is thy revered name Mátrigupta?" "Yes," replied Mátrigupta to them with a smile.

237. "Who is here? who is there?" Thus they were heard to say on all sides. Then it was seen that preparations for the installation of a King were arranged.

238. In an instant the place, agitated by a great multitude of people, who made a confused and formidable noise, resembled a troubled sea.

239. Then Mátrigupta was placed upon a magnificent seat of gold facing the east, and being surrounded by the principal authorities, he was installed King with the usual ceremony.

240. Now the water of purification, which [from the golden vase] rushed audibly over his body (the breast of which was firm like a bank of the Vindhya mountains) shone like the torrent of the Revá.

241. Then the people were informed that the King, having had his body bathed, anointed, and loaded with ornaments, had ascended the royal throne.

242. Installed by king Vikramáditya who had been prayed to protect this land himself, they addressed Mátrigupta in these terms :—"Govern us and this country as if we belonged to thee."

243. "Kingdoms are not acquired every day. Despise not, O King, this country for being compelled by others to accept it."

244. As parents are the authors of the immediate birth, which is dependent on one's actions [in a former state of existence], so from a king or from others, proceeds the authority for the administration of a kingdom [*i. e.* Mátrigupta was entitled to it from his previous good career].

245. This being the case, when you say "I am indebted to you," you do injustice to yourself and to us, by thinking less of yourself.

246. Although they had pronounced this true discourse,

Mátrigupta, reflecting upon the gratitude he owed to King Vikramáditya, remained for a moment smiling.

247. And celebrating the festival with gifts and liberality worthy of the acquisition of a new kingdom, he terminated the day full of happiness.

248. The next day, invited by the Councillors to make his entrance into the town, he despatched his ambassador with wonderful presents, to him who had given him the kingdom.

249. Feeling that this might suggest a semblance of rivalry with his master on account of the prosperity of the country, he felt ashamed, and thought he was culpable.

350. Then after having called other servants in order to show what he thought of the respect due to a master, he sent him as presents, some eatables, though of little value.

251. Recalling to mind the incomparable virtues of the King, his eyes became filled with tears, and he himself wrote the following sloka and sent it to him privately :—

252. “Thou givest not one sign, thou squanderest no praises ; thou dost not even announce thy intention of giving, and nevertheless thou sendest beautiful fruits.”

The 113th sloka of the “Megha Dúta,” which is identical in sentiment with this last verse, has been rendered by Professor Wilson as follows :—

“ To thee the thirsty chatacas complain ;  
 Thy only answer is the falling rain ;  
 And still such answer from the good proceeds,  
 Who grant our wishes, not in words, but deeds.”\*

Regarding Harsha Vikramáditya, Professor H. H. Wilson has made the following observations :—

“Who was this prince ? As the enemy of the Sacas, and also from our author’s chronology, he is synchronous with Sáliváhana, with whom indeed, notwithstanding a difference

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\* The (“Megha Dúta” or “Cloud-Messenger,” p. 118.) A’ryá 10. Sarga 3, of the “Setu-Kávya,” is of the same import.

in date of 135 years, all the Hindu accounts represent him to have been engaged in hostility. We have had a Vikramáditya before him in this history, not the S'acári as expressly remarked by the historian, and therefore, we cannot doubt our author's meaning, although we may question his chronological correctness, as I shall hereafter endeavour to show : it is singular that, in a very long eulogium on this prince, which I have not thought it necessary to translate, the author never alludes to Sáliváhana, nor to any of the literary ornaments usually assigned to Vikrama's court. This Harsha appears to bear some affinity to Harsha-Megha (A. R. IX. 175) father of Vikrama of the 5th century, in which indeed, he may not very improbably be placed. We must however, leave these points for the present, as we are not yet prepared for their due discussion. The Mahomedan writers are of no assistance here, as they repeat the name of Vikramáditya without any comment on its again occurring."\*

We have here a Vikramáditya several centuries subsequent to his namesake of the Samvat Era, and on whose character, Kalhana Pandita loves to dwell as a patron of poets and as possessed of some of the highest attributes of kings. We have the names of three poets, viz. Mátrigupta, Vetalá-Mentha, and Bhartri-Menthá, who adorned his court, or were at least his contemporaries. The word "Mentha" is no doubt equivalent to "Bhatta," and it is to be presumed that Vetalá-Mentha and Bhartri-Mentha are identical with Vetalá-Bhatta and Bhartri-Bhatta. Mátrigupta also was, in all likelihood, called Mátrigupta Mentha. In some Jaina works, *mentha* is written *mendhra*, which in Sanskrit, according to the "Visva-Kosha," means *great*. The word *mendhra* is, however, so like the Prákrita *mendhá* (sheep) that to this similarity is, no doubt, to be attributed the childish, yet popular tale of Kálidása having been born a shepherd, till blessed with poetical genius by Káli, whom he propitiated by

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\* " Asiatic Researches," Vol. XV., p. 38.

penance according to some, and by accident according to other versions of the story.

Vetāla-Bhatta, we have already noticed, is one of the “nine gems” of Vikrama, and so is Bhartṛi-Bhatta or Bhartrihari, the author of the Nīti, Vairāgya and Śringāra Satakas. He is commonly, but erroneously supposed to be a brother of Vikrama; as the fifth couplet\* of the Vairāgya Sataka shows, viz., that, the author was an eminent poet, who was dissatisfied with the reception he met with at the courts of several princes, whom he visited in hopes of reward. Bhatti the author of the “Bhāttikāvya,” is popularly believed to have been a son of Bhartrihari; and Bhatti, at the conclusion of his poem, informs us that the work was composed at Valabhī in the age of King Śridharasena, an assertion tallying with the supposed existence of Bhartṛi-Bhatta at the time of Harsha Vikramāditya.†

The “Trikānda Sesha,” a Sanskrit Vocabulary by Purushottama, gives the following designations of Kālidāsa, viz. Raghukāra, Kālidāsa, Medhārudra and Kotijit, but these are evidently appellations indicative of his authorship and talent, rather than of his proper name. Who then is Mātrigupta? There is no known Sanskrit work which has a “Mātrigupta” for its author, and it is not likely that the poet, who has elicited praises above all others, from the learned author of the “Rāja-Taranginī,” has left no traces of his works.‡

\* उत्तुखाते निविशङ्कया क्षितिश्लं ध्याता गिरे धातवो निस्तीर्णं चरिता-  
म्पति र्वपतवो यत्वेन सन्तोषितः। अन्वाराधनतयरेण अनसा नीता:  
रस्ताने निशाः प्राप्तकाण्यवराटकोपि न अया दृश्येभुना मञ्जु भां॥

Hæberlin's Sanskrit Anthology p. 60. 1847.

† काव्यमिदं विहितं अया यत्तद्यां त्रीधरसेन नरेन्द्रपालितायां। कीचिं  
इतो भवताः दृपद्य तस्य क्षेपकरः क्षतिश्वतः प्रजालनानाम्।

‡ We have since met with a commentary on the Sakuntalā, by Rāghava

The Rájataranginí," does not omit to notice the great Sanskrit poets in their respective historical periods. The date of Bhavabhúti, the learned author of the drama "Málati MÁdhava," has been fixed by Professor Wilson at 718 A. D., in the reign of Yasóvarma of Kanoge, on the authority of the "Rájataranginí," and later researches confirm the accuracy of the statement. The difference, between the age of the dramatic works of Bhavabhúti and of Kálidásá, is clearly not of eight centuries. Critical examination of the respective dramas shows that, the interval between them cannot be more than two or three centuries.

We have given all the facts approaching to sober history, which we have as yet been able to meet with, regarding Harsha Vikramáditya, Mátrigupta, and Pravarasena, and now we shall proceed to give reasons for believing that they flourished about the middle of the sixth century of the Christian Era. Professor Wilson, in adjusting the chronology of the Rájataranginí," is induced chiefly by Wilford's theory of a Vikrama in the fifth century, whose father was "Harsha Megha," to place Harsha Vikramáditya about 471 A. D.\*

Colonel Cunningham places Toramána in the sixth century. He observes, "the reign of Toramána probably extended from A. D. 520 to 550, contemporary with Takta Gupta of Magadha" (Bhilsa Topes, p. 164). He also states that in an inscription from the Fort of Gwalior, "I find Toramána des-

Bhata, son of Prithvidhara, of Visvesvarpattana (Benares), in which he quotes Mátrigupta Chárya with reference to the characteristics of dramatic composition. Throughout the commentary (the copy is not complete), we meet with 17 slokas, which, from their style appear to be the production of a great poet, and are not unworthy of Kálidásá. One sloka is quoted second-hand from Bhámatha, a commentator on the "Prákrita Prakáśa," who again quotes it from the "Hayagríva Vadha Ná'aka."

\* "Prinsep's Indian Antiquities," by E. Thomas, Esq., Vol. II. p. 244. Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV. p. 38.

cribed as the son of Mátridásá and the grandson of Mátrikula, who is probably the same as Mátri Vishnu." We think it much to be regretted that the inscription is not yet printed. This king's name was read by Mr. Prinsep as Tárapáni ; but from an examination of the inscription, Colonel Cunningham "can state positively that the name is Toramána."\*

It is not unlikely that this Toramána, noticed in the Eran Pillar and Boar Inscriptions (J. B. A. Society, Vol. VII. p. 632 and 633) is the same as the brother of Hiranya, noticed in the 3rd book of the Rájatarangini. Toramána's coins have been noticed by numismatists, whilst the Rájatarangini tells us that his venturing to assume the privilege of royalty by coining money in his own name, was the cause of jealousy between the brothers ; and which ended in the imprisonment of Toramána. We must suppose an intimate connection between the rulers of Kásmíra and the large province included between the Kálindí (Jumna) and the Narmadá, a conjecture rendered probable by the fact of the readiness with which the nobles of Kásmíra accepted Mátrigupta for their ruler, at the behest of Harsha Vikramáditya of Ujjayini. The Mátridásá and Mátrikula of the Gwalior Inscriptions, according to Colonel Cunningham and the Mátri Vishnu of the Eran Pillar inscription, belong to a Brahman dynasty of Rájás, although evidently looking upon Toramána and Buddhagupta as their superiors. Mátrigupta in all likelihood belonged to this family of Maitráyaníya Brahmanas. The Rájatarangini tells us that he served Harsha Vikramáditya in different situations. It is not likely that a mere suppliant brahmana and poet would be placed over a province noted for its religious sects and turbulent nobles, unless he had at the same time, some kingly pretensions to ensure fear and respect. Mátri Vishnu is a worshipper of the Boar Avatára of Vishnu. Mátrigupta in Kásmíra is said in the Rájatarangini to have

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\* " Bhilsa Topes."

established the worship of Madhumathana or Vishnu, under the name of "Mátrigupta Svámi," and this is the only circumstance that creates a shade of doubt in our mind respecting the identity of Mátrigupta with Kálidása, who, in his extant works always invokes Siva, and otherwise, appears to have been a devout Saiva. It is to be presumed that as ruler of Kásmira, where the Buddhists and Vaishnavas prevailed, he studied to please the prevailing sects by erecting a temple to Vishnu, and by a mandate prohibiting the destruction of living beings.

We have been fortunate in meeting with a few scattered leaves of a poem in Prákrita, called the "Setu-Kávya,"\* with a Sanskrit commentary, in which the poem is described to have been composed by Kálidása at the request of Rájá Pravarasena.

In a work on poetry, called Pratápa-rudra," by Vidyánátha, who was patronised by Pratápa-rudra of Telingana about the end of the twelfth century, an A'ryá is quoted from the "Setu-Kávya," (which is styled a "Mahá-prabandha"). Dandí, who is placed by Professor Wilson at the end of the eleventh century, in the "Kávyadarsa," praises the poem although written in Prákrita, as an "ocean of the jewels of beautiful sentences." The work is alluded to in the Sáhitya Darpana.

An expression in the Váránasi Darpana of Sundara is explained by the commentator Rámásrama to be an allusion to Kálidása, "who wrote the Setu-Kávya."

Pravarasena, the hero of the Setu-Kávya, is undoubtedly the king of Kásmira who succeeded Mátrigupta. We have already given from the Rájatarangini, an account of the

\* From the incompleteness of the MS. which was copied about 130 years ago, it is impossible to make out the name of the Commentator. A complete copy was promised to us from Central India, but our efforts to obtain it have as yet proved fruitless.

construction of a Naú-setu or bridge of boats by Pravarasena, the Vētastā, the Hydaspes of the Greeks, on which the capital of Kāsmīra was then situated. The construction of this very bridge is the subject of the Setu-Kávya (bridge-poem); and Pravarasena is rightly called by the commentator "Abhinava," that is, new, junior, or second, because we learn from the Rājatarangini that, his grand-father Sreshthasena,\* was the first to be styled "Pravarasena." In Prinsep's genealogical tables no other Pravarasenas are to be found.

The Sanskrit poet Bāna who was a contemporary of Hiouen-Thsang, as they both visited and were patronized by Harshavardhana or Silāditya, the powerful king of Kanoge, praises in the following words the beautiful diction of Kālidāsa and the glory of Pravarasena, diffused by the Setu-Kávya :—

कीर्तिः प्रवरसेनस्य प्रथाताकुसुदोच्चला सागरस्य परंपारं कपिसेनेव सेतुना ।  
निर्गतास्तु नवाकस्य कालिदासस्य रुद्रक्षिषु प्रीतिर्मधुरसाद्रांषु भञ्जरीचिव जायते ।

*Trans.* The glory of Pravarasena, bright as the white lotus, extended beyond the ocean by means of the Setu [Kávya], just as the monkey-army crossed the ocean by the Setu [bridge].

"Who is not enraptured with the sweet and good diction of Kālidāsa , &c ?"†

As Bāna notices together Pravarasena and the Setu-Kávya, we have here confirmation of the correctness of the assertion of our commentator that, the poem was composed at the request of the king. At all events the age of Bāna being clearly ascertained, and the authenticity of the couplets quoted above, being undoubted, we have a limit to the modernness of the great Kālidāsa. The Harsha Charita enables us to fix the age of Bāna in the beginning of the seventh century

\* This distinguished monarch, according to the Rājatarangini, sent a maritime expedition to Ceylon which returned triumphant.

† Harsha Charita of Bāna.

of the Christian Era. This valuable work was first brought to light by Professor Fitz-Edward Hall in 1859. He has given an excellent analysis of it with full notes, in his learned preface to the *Vásavadattá* of Subandhu, forming a part of the "Bibliotheca Indica." Our own copy, (made about sixty years ago,) is apparently similar in almost every respect, to those of the learned Professor.

According to tradition, the poets Bána and Mayúra were contemporaries of Bhoja. Some Jaina records make them contemporaries of a Vriddha or elder Bhoja ; others, such as the author of the "Bhoja-prabandha," bring them down to the age of Munja and Bhoja, in the eleventh century of the Christian era.\*

But the Harsha Charita leaves no doubt about the existence of Bána in the beginning of the 7th century. We possess the means of making some approximation to the age of Mánatunga Súri from the Jaina Sthirávalis or lists of hierarchs, and we have patiently compared seven of them composed at different times, but all within the last five hundred years. Mánatunga appears by these lists to have lived in the 3rd century, but the result is no doubt incorrect. He was, in our judgment, a contemporary of Bána in the 7th century.

We shall proceed to show that Pravarasena the second, lived in the 6th century of the Christian Era, and that he honoured Hiouen-Thsang both on his arrival in, and at his departure from India. Unfortunately, the Chinese traveller has

\* *Copper-plate grants*, which notice Bhejadeva of the 11th century, make no allusion to his liberality, learning, nor to his patronage of learned men.

Babu Rájendralál Mitra has published an Inscription from Thaneswar, in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society No. VII. of 1853, p. 673, with remarks, wherein the learned Babu thinks the Bhoja of this inscription, lived in Samvat Era 179.—It is to be much regretted that the fac-simile was not printed at the same time. In our opinion, the inscription is not so old.

not given the name of the king, but a brief foot-note regarding the constructor of the Vihára or monastery, where he put up for a night, on his arrival at the capital of Kásmirá, taken in connection with a statement by Kalhana Pandita, in the Rájatarangini, regarding the construction of this identical Vihára, enables us to fix upon Pravarasena the second, as the king of Kásmirá and contemporary of Hiouen-Thsang.

"When he [Hiouen-Thsang] arrived at the capital [of Kásmirá] he stopped in a convent, called She-ye-in-to-lo-sse (Jayendra Vihára)."<sup>\*</sup>

The Rájatarangini (3rd book verse 355) has :—“ Jayendra the maternal uncle of the king [Pravarasena, son of Toramána and successor of Mátrigupta], raised an edifice known by the name of Vihára of Sri Jayendra and of the great Buddha.”

As shown in verse 105, *idem*, the (maternal) grand-father of Pravarasena II. was Vajrendra, whose daughter Anjaná, was married to Toramána. Anjaná's brother was named Jayendra, whose daughter would, according to Hindu custom, be the likely spouse of his sister Anjaná's son, Pravarasena. Vijrendra was descended from Ikshváku. This confirms the Chinese traveller's note, which, short as it is, now enables us to fix some important chronological data in an interesting period of the history of Kásmirá, i. e. it enables us to recognize Pravarasena II. of Kásmirá, as a contemporary of Hiouen-Thsang.

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We read in Hiouen-Thsang's narrative (p. 90):—“ When the master of the law began to cross the frontiers of this country, he arrived at the *gate of stone* which is the western gate of the kingdom. The king ordered the younger brother of his mother to go to meet him with chariots and horses.”

\* This Convent had been built by the father-in-law of the King. (Note of the Chinese author.)

This younger brother was in all likelihood Jayendra himself, unless he had a younger brother. Hiouen-Thsang notices two other Viháras in the capital, viz. the Vihára called Hu-se-kia-lo (Huskara ?) where he spent a night in the house of happiness "Punya Sálá,"—"to which the King betook himself, at the head of all his officers and monks of the capital, and went to meet Hiouen-Thsang with a suite of more than a thousand persons. The road was covered with umbrellas and standards, and the whole way was inundated with perfumes and flowers. When he was in the presence of Hiouen-Thsang, he overwhelmed him with praises and marks of respect, and scattered, with his own hands, an immense quantity of flowers in his honour. Then he requested him to mount on a great elephant and followed in his rear.

"When he had arrived at the capital, he stopped in a convent called She-ye-in-to-lo-sse (Jayendra Vihára).

"The next day (the King) asked him to enter his palace to receive homage and to sit at his table. At the same time he commanded several half scores of monks of eminent virtue, to take food in that banquet. When the repast was over, the King invited the master of the law to open conferences on the different points of the doctrine."

This house of happiness first ingeniously rendered by the learned Stanislas Julien "dharmaśálā," and afterwards corrected to "Punyasálá," is undoubtedly the Amrita bhuvana (house of Amrita of Ambrosia), noticed by the Rájatarangini, as a lofty building constructed by Amrita-prabhá, the favourite queen of Megha-váhana, who was the great-grandmother of Pravarasena II. for the use of the mendicants (bhikshukas) from foreign countries.

Such facts leave no doubt in our mind that the King of Kásmira was "Pravarasena II." He was living when Hiouen-Thsang set out on his journey back to China. "The king of Kásmira (Kea-shi-melo) having heard that the master of the law was approaching in light-marches, forgot the fatigues of

a long journey, and came personally to visit him, and to offer him his homage ; he only returned after several days." Pravarasena was then evidently very old, and hence the allusion to the fatigues of a long journey ; thus we may now well believe that he reigned sixty years, as stated by the Rájatarangini. Hiouen-Thsang thus speaks of Málava (p. 204) :—

"The inhabitants (of Málava) are of a meek and polished character ; they love and esteem the culture of literature. In the five parts of India, Malapo (Málava) to the south-west and Mokeeto, (Magadha) to the north-west, are the only two kingdoms in which the inhabitants distinguished themselves by their love for study, their esteem for virtue, by the facility of their pronunciation, and by their harmony of language."

\* \* \* \*

"According to tradition, the throne was occupied sixty years ago by a king of the name of Kiajee (Siláditya) [Vikramáditya?]. He was endowed with great talents, and possessed of great knowledge. He was full of respect for the *three precious ones*. From his accession to the throne till the moment of his death, not a single unbecoming word escaped from his mouth, and anger never reddened his face."

\* \* \* \*

"During the fifty years' reign he never interrupted his meritorious works for a single moment. The whole nation conceived, on account of this, a lively affection for him, which is not yet extinguished."

This account evidently refers to the age of Kálidása and Vikramáditya. While Siláditya of Málava, who must not be confounded with his namesake of Kanoge, 60 years later, is either Harsha-Vikramáditya himself or his son, who according to the Rájtarangini, was styled "Siláditya" or "Pratápasila." Vikramáditya is more likely indicated, because the last authority tells us, that Pratápasila was restored by Pravarasena to the empire of his father, from which he had been

driven by his enemies, and from whom Pratápasila brought back "the marvellous throne" belonging to his family.

Varáha is mentioned in the "memorial-verse" as one of the "nine gems" of Vikrama, and we have now very good means of ascertaining the age of this eminent Hindu Astronomer; the latest and the most judicious writers on Hindu astronomy have placed Varáha Mihira about A. D. 570. (Translation of the "Súrya-Siddhánta," a Text-book of Hindu Astronomy; with notes and an appendix; by the Rev. Ebenezer Burgess, &c. p. 260; and Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. VI. No. II. 1859, Art. III). It is possible that there was an older Varáha Mihira in the 2nd or 3rd century of the Christian Era, as stated in Dr. Hunter's list of Hindu Astronomers which was given to him at Ujjayini. We have important data to furnish, regarding the age of the various Indian Astronomers as well as of the ancient Hindu Medical-writers, but on account of the length to which this "Paper" has reached, we shall reserve the discussion of this subject for a future occasion.

The time we have assigned to Harsha-Vikramáditya is that which corresponds with the period, which is given as the initial and principal point of the fixed sphere; it is also the date assigned to Varáha Mihira and to Jishnu the father of Bramhagupta. We have adduced historic evidence to show the contemporaneous existence of Harsha-Vikramáditya, Mátrigupta, Vetalabhatta, Bhartribhatta, Varáha-Mihira and Jishnu. We have the evidence of the Chinese Buddhist-pilgrim as to the zeal with which the Sanskrit language was cultivated in the seventh century at Málava, and of the affectionate remembrance in which king Siláditya of Málava, sixty years before this time, was held by the people of that country. If any time in the history of Ujjayini could lay any pretensions to be styled, the Augustan Age of Sanskrit literature and science, it was clearly the reign of Harsha-Vikramáditya, when Sanskrit grammar and rhetoric and poetry were

cultivated with unexampled success ; when the Hindu astronomical system was elaborated, and the equinox of A. D. 570 chosen as the principal point of the fixed sphere ; and when the "Sútras" and other writings of the first A'ryabhata were collected into regular "Siddhantas" ; when Varáha-Mihira wrote his celebrated Encyclopædia or "Sanhitá" and other astronomical and astrological treatises ; when, in all likelihood, the medical opinions of Susruta and of Charaka were also elaborated into the shape they now bear ; and when the liberal views and Buddhist faith of his illustrious monarch (Harsha-Vikramáditya) patronized foreign literature, and especially that of the Yavanas or Greeks on which account, it is to be presumed, he was styled "Yavana-Bhoja."

It is worthy of observation that, the neighbouring empire of Persia owned the celebrated Noushirván for its ruler, honourably distinguished by the appellation of "the just," and equally celebrated for his learning, liberality, magnanimity, and military exploits. It was Burzuchumihr, the minister of Noushirván, who despatched the physician Barzuya to India for obtaining a copy of the "Panchatantra" or original of the "Hitopadesa," which he got translated into Pehlvi. He also introduced the game of chess from the same source. We have also a great deal to say regarding the "Panchatantra" and its real authors, but for reasons already stated, we shall reserve this also for another opportunity. We shall only here surmise that, the name "Barzuya" is in all likelihood the same as "Vararuchi." Whether this Vararuchi is the same as the one of the "nine gems," we have no means of ascertaining, but when we consider that, he was able to translate the "Panchatantra" rapidly into Pehlvi ; and that he was acquainted with medical and other writings of the Hindus which, at that time, were chiefly in the Prákrita language, we are led to believe that, the later Vararuchi of Harsha-Vikramáditya's court was this Barzuya. We write this with the knowledge that, the "Kalila va Dimna," the

Arabic translation from the Pehlvi version, informs us that, the “Panchatantra” was obtained at Pátaliputra, and that it takes no notice of Ujjayini. The Buddhist Amarasingha, the lexicographer, flourished more likely in the sixth century after, than in the first century before Christ. Sanku, according to the Rájataranginí, flourished in the reign of Utpaláspira, about the end of the ninth century. In placing Sanku among the “nine literary gems,” supposing that no other Sanku is meant, the author of the Jyotirvidábharana is clearly guilty of an anachronism, but we have good reason to believe the contemporaneous existence of Mátrigupta, Vétala-bhatta, Bhartribhatta, Varáha-Mihira, Amarasingha and Vararuchi. The “nine gems” of Vikramáditya’s court are those of Harsha-Vikramáditya of the 6th century, and, with every desire to maintain the popular glories of the Samvat Era, we have discovered nothing to place the Augustan Age of Indian literature in the Samvat Era. We are now convinced that, even the popular stories regarding Vikrama belong, as we incidentally noticed, to an homonymous monarch of far more ancient date.

Since this “Paper” was read we have had excellent evidence for placing the Nasik-inscription, noticing the glory of Vikramáditya, in the second century of the Christian Era; and it is clear, that the inscription refers to a much older Vikramáditya than the one after whom the Samvat Era is called.

Bhartribhatta is related, in the Rájataranginí, to have caused his dramatic production, called Hayagríva-vadha Nátaka, to be represented before Mátrigupta in Kásmira. The discovery of this drama, which is believed to be extant, though very rare, would throw considerable light on the subject.

In conclusion, we add the following further reasons for believing Mátrigupta to be the same with Kálidása, viz:—

The Goddess Káli or Durgá plays even a more important

part in the legendary history of Kásmíra than in that of Ujjayiní, and some of the stories now current regarding Kálidásá, in connection with the goddess Káli, had, in all likelihood, their origin in the former region, justly styled the region of fiction.

If every Vikrama were ready upon the least disappointment or fit of ill-humour, to lay his own head at the feet of the goddess, Káli, who interposed and granted his boon, the kings of Kásmíra were equally ready to offer their heads for no selfish object, but to save the lives of innocent animals offered in sacrifice to Durgá. Pravarasena had a Vetála or protecting genius as well as Harsha-Vikramáditya.

The 181st verse in the 3rd book of the Rájataranginí, which is said to have been recited by Mátrigupta in communicating his sufferings to Vikrama, is put into the mouth of "a learned poet" at the court of a Bhoja, in the Prabandha Chintámani of Merutungáchárya, a Jaina Writer of the 15th century, who relates the story only a shade differently.

The 255th verse of the 3rd book of the Rájataranginí, (Calcutta Ed. and verse 252 of Troyer's Trans.) therein attributed to Mátrigupta, contains exactly the same ideas, and is repeated nearly in the same words as in the 113th verse of the Megha Dúta of Kálidásá (Ed. Wilson.)

There is a tradition that Vikramáditya was so pleased with Kálidásá that he bestowed on the poet half of his territories. In keeping with this tradition, the Rájataranginí tells us, that Mátrigupta was appointed by Harsha-Vikramáditya, Governor of Kásmíra, during an interregnum, and that he ruled there for four years, nine months, and one day. Vikramáditya died shortly afterwards, and the rightful heir Pravarasena, who was away from Kásmíra, having appeared in the field, Mátrigupta wisely resigned his post and secured a generous friend in Pravarasena. The Rájataranginí informs us that the poet became a Yati, retired to Benares and died ten years afterwards.

Mallinátha, in commenting on the 14th verse of the Megha-dúta, incidentally notices that Dingnágáchárya and Nichula were contemporaries of Kálidása, the former his adversary and the latter a fellow-student and bosom friend. As Dingnágáchárya's Gotama-sútra-vritti is extant, Professor F. E. Hall, who alludes to the work in his learned notes to the Vásavadattá, may be able to throw some light on the subject.

Kálidása, although a resident of Ujjayiní, which he notices in his works with evident predelection, was in all likelihood a native of Kásmíra, or of a conterminous province.

His illustrations are derived chiefly from the Natural History and physical geography of northern India. The "towery summits" of the Himálaya decked with "diadems of snow;" the peak of Kailása "reflected in the waters of the dark Yamuná;" the "rippling Gangá laving the mountain pine" "the musky breezes throwing their balmy odours o'er eternal snow;" the "wilds, where eager hunters roam; tracking the lion to his dreary home;" the "peaks, where "sun-shine ever reigns," where "birch-trees wave," the "bleeding pines their odorous gums distil;" and the musk deer spring frequent from their covers; "the magic herbs that pour their streamy light from mossy Caverns, through the darksome night;" the "wild kine" with "her bushy streaming hair;" the fierce elephant; the startled deer; the lotuses that "lave their beauties in the heavenly Gangá's stream;" the mountain lake; "the clefts from which dark bitumen flowed;" the melting snow; the cool gale; the "rude mantles of the birch-trees rind;" these and other allusions indicate extensive observation, and familiarity with the gorgeous scenery of the Himálaya mountains, with an ardent love of nature. Kálidása is the only great Sanskrit poet who, so far as the writer is aware, describes a living saffron-flower. The plant, we know, grows in Kásmíra and the regions west of it. He never compares any thing to the pomegranate or to the rose, which are frequent subjects of

allusion and comparison in almost all modern oriental poetry. The lips of Kálidásá's young maidens are of coral-hue, red as the petals of the Nelumbeum or as the ripe Vimba, (*Momordica dioica*), or as the pátala flower (*Bignonia suaveolens*) or as the budding leaves. Their teeth are "white as pearls" or as the Kunda (jasmine). "Their eyes are "bright like wine" "and beautiful as the lotus,—they write their love-letters on the rind of the birch with mineral dyes, or on leaves with their nails. He speaks of "the sentimental compositions of former poets." His language is simple, and his similitudes are copious and unrivalled for their elegance. The vocabulary of Amara Sinha is sufficient for explaining almost all the words in Kálidásá's works,—whilst to understand the poems of Mágha, a contemporary of the Bhoja of the 11th century, the assistance of a number of vocabularies is required. The metres are more varied, and the grammatical constructions long and difficult. Kálidásá's metres and grammatical constructions are plain and generally known; yet the effect is great. He is justly praised for his happy choice of subjects, his complete attainment of his poetical intentions; for the beauty of his representations, the tenderness of his feeling, and the richness of his imagination. He shows an acquaintance with Chinese pottery and silks,—with the magnet;—and in one instance, with the true cause of eclipses, the influence of the moon on the tides, and with ships. His kings are attended by Yavana women (Greek or Bactrian) with bows in their hand. He has minute acquaintance with court-life. The various beasts, birds, trees, flowers, fishes, and insects alluded to by Kálidásá, are common to nearly the whole of India, and therefore do not assist in discovering the poet's birth-place, or his favourite places of residence. He had undoubtedly travelled a great deal.

Like many congenial spirits he had also no doubt suffered from the pangs of poverty and neglect. He devoutly prays that "for the common welfare of the good, the mutual rivals

Fortune and Eloquence may at last be wedded in that union which now seems so hard to be attained."

What is the argument of the "Megha-dúta" but a faithful picture of his feelings caused by separation from his dear wife and home!—a fact related also of Mátrigupta in the Rájatarangíni. Kálidásá, under the disguise of a Yaksha or Demigod, seated on the mountain "Rámagiri" in Central India, addresses one of the heavy clouds gathering in the south, and proceeding in a northerly course towards the Himálaya mountains, "the fictitious position of the residence of the Yakshas." He desires the cloud "to waft his sorrows to a beloved and regretted wife." The places are correctly conceived. A straight line from Oujein to the north, the course assigned to the cloud-messenger, passes through the valley of Kásmíra.

In Kásmíra or its neighbourhood, the writer believes, the birth-place of Kálidásá ultimately will be found. The name of his wife was in all likelihood Kamalá. The stories of the Bhoja-prabandha are rejected, as relating to some modern rhymester and libertine of Dhárá,—a name never noticed in any of the great Kálidásá's genuine works. It is clear, the simple loves of "Urvasí" and "Sakuntalá" could not have found favour at the court of the Bhoja of the 11th century.

Lastly, we would observe, that if the identity of Mátrigupta and Kálidásá be established, the exact age of the great Sanskrit Poet, who is now rising into universal celebrity, would be fixed in the middle of the 6th century of the Christian Era; while the fact would be of no less importance to the history of Sanskrit Literature than to the credit of humanity. Inasmuch as the prince of India's Poets would be proved to have been distinguished as much for his fine feeling, and purity of conduct, as for the highest learning and poetical talent.

## II.

## AJUNTA INSCRIPTIONS.

I HAVE very great pleasure in submitting to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society facsimiles, transcripts, and translations of inscriptions from the Caves of Ajunta. As I intend to submit another paper on the caves, their sculptures and beautiful paintings, I shall confine my remarks to the inscriptions and to the historical facts contained in them.

The inscriptions were copied by me during a visit of four days to the caves, which I paid in the company of my distinguished friend Dr. H. Carter, in February last. From morning till sunset, with scarcely any interruption, I was engaged in copying them. The task was by no means easy or pleasant, as some of the inscriptions are at a great height, and look down on giddy precipices. I devoted some hours to taking notes of the caves and the paintings, some of which, as traced and painted by my draftsman, Babul, are now placed on the table.

Notwithstanding great care and diligence I found the time insufficient for thorough revision, and as important facts were expected from the rock inscriptions, which have never before been completely or correctly copied, I sent a young pandita in my employment, who has made considerable progress in the knowledge of the cave characters, to Ajunta with my draftsman in the latter part of May. The doubtful letters in my copies were carefully examined, and fresh copies sent to me, whilst the copyist waited at the caves to receive further remarks and suggestions from me. The copies were again revised on the spot; and after carefully deciphering them I now submit them to the Society.\*

\* In November 1863 I paid a third visit to the Caves of Ajunta and Ellora with Sir A. Grant, Bart., and Mr. Wordsworth. My first visit was

The inscriptions are twenty-three in number. They are of two kinds, those engraved on rocks, and those painted with a brush under some of the paintings and on the walls.

Of the rock inscriptions three are very long and in Sanskrit, and five are short ones, three in Sanskrit and two in Māgadhi.

Of the long ones one is situated in the Vihāra Cave (No. xvi.) on the right side of the porch. Its length is 4 feet 2 inches, and its breadth 3 feet 5 inches. It is about 12 feet from the ground. The cave looks south-west, and is the Zodiac or Shield Cave.

Parts of the inscription have been destroyed by exposure to moisture during the rains. One piece, about 9 inches square, at the lower outer corner, has fallen off.

The second is in the Vihāra Cave (No. xvii.) on the right side of the porch. Its length is 4 feet 5 inches and breadth 4 feet. The lowest line is 8 feet 4 inches from the ground. The cave looks south-west.

Portions of the inscription have been destroyed by rain water trickling over it.

The third is in cave No. xxvi. This is a chaitya cave, containing the large image of the dying Buddha. The inscription is situated on the left side of the wall of the ante-chamber over the top of the left door of the cave leading into the left aisle. Its length is 4 feet 2 inches, its breadth 2 feet 2 inches, and it is 7 feet 9 inches from the ground. The cave looks north-west.

in 1845, in the rains, with the Honorable Sir E. Perry. The inscriptions were again very carefully examined on the spot for three days. The name of Pravarasena was now distinctly visible, and I have been able to confirm my previous readings and to add a few letters, as well as some painted inscriptions, which have been introduced in the copies now published. I have also been under great obligation to Major B. Gill for going round twice with me over all the caves, and minutely examining the paintings, with which his acquaintance extends over eighteen years.

Of the smaller inscriptions the largest one is in cave No. xxv. under the feet of a large image of Buddha, in front of the vault of the Chaitya.

The next is in the same cave on the opposite side, but only a portion is preserved, owing to the rock having broken off.

The third, which is in Mágadhlí, is in cave No. xi., under one of the arches in the left side of the Vihára.

The painted inscriptions are seventeen in number.

There is one in the Chaitya Cave (No. viii.), over the head of a painted Buddha over the entrance. One is in No. ix., on the fourth right pillar under the foot of a standing painted Buddha. There are three in cave No. xvi., in the central large hall, on the right wall, one under a row of large Buddhas, and two others under a row of painted Buddhas ; the others are in caves Nos. i. and vi.

In the cave No. xvii., in the left wall of the hall, near the corner, are the names of Rájá Sibi under two of his images and close to them the word Indra can be made out under his painted image.

In No. xxi., in the sanctuary, on the left side, under a row of seven Buddhas, are the names of the seven Buddhas, and a long inscription of one line under them.

Mr. J. Prinsep has published the lower part (two lines) of an inscription from the Zodiac or Shield Cave (No. xvii.), and the first line and portions of the succeeding four of the same inscription as "Another from the same cave (supposed) to be more modern," in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, vol. v. p. 554.

"Another inscription taken in facsimile from the stone," published in the same plate, is the complete one under the image of Buddha in cave No. xxv.

"The inscription on the entrance of a chamber containing an image of Buddha in the Caves of Ajunta," vol. v. p. 342, has escaped me, but I have added it from Mr. Prinsep's plate. Dr. Bird has given in his work on the Caves of Western India

five lines (incomplete) more than Mr. Prinsep of the inscriptions from the Zodiac Cave, and an exact copy of the five lines from the same cave, evidently from Mr. Prinsep's copy. He has given the two parts of the same inscription as separate inscriptions. He has also published the inscriptions under the image of Buddha in cave No. xxv., and the broken one on the opposite side ; and the first nine letters of the long and most important of the Ajunta inscriptions from cave No. xvi. Messrs. Ralph and Grisly, to whom Mr. Prinsep was indebted for copies of the inscriptions, do not seem to have copied this. At all events neither Mr. Prinsep nor any one after him has taken any notice of it.

I was given to understand by Major R. Gill that he has taken no copies of the larger rock inscriptions. He intends taking photographs of them some day.

Mr. Prinsep was evidently misinformed regarding the incompleteness of the inscriptions, so that he remained satisfied with making out a few letters with a view of ascertaining their age by comparison with other well-known alphabets. Dr. Bird's copies show also that no great effort was made to secure complete copies. The Government of Bombay was liberal enough to employ Lieut. W. F. Brett to copy the cave inscriptions. His copies of the Ajunta inscriptions were sent, I believe, to England ; but, judging of their character from two or three duplicates in the possession of our Society, they appear to be carelessly and inaccurately taken. It is, indeed, not possible for any person ignorant of the cave characters to take correct copies of these inscriptions. Many of the letters have been made out from taking advantage of the morning and evening light, and by patient application and study on the spot as well as at home.

## AJUNTA INSCRIPTION FROM CAVE No. XVI.

*Translation.*

1. Having first saluted (Buddha who is renowned) in this world for the removal of the intense fire of misery of the three worlds (about 9 letters lost), I shall relate the genealogy of the king (or kings).
2. Vindhyaśakti (flourished), whose power extended over the great and (brave?)—even by the angry devas (about 10 letters lost), prowess in protection and liberality, the twice-born, illustrious in the world.
3. In prowess comparable to Purandara (Indra) and Upendra (Vishnu), earned by the might of his arm (about 13 letters lost), was the lion of the Vākātaka race.
4. Proud as a lion . . . . . who has eclipsed the sun by the aggregation of (battles?) (about 14 letters lost), has made enemies, and skilful in discussion (about 4 letters lost).
5. Him . . . . . who conquered enemies, who has performed the duties of men and kings, . . . . . made the greatest effort regarding meritorious deeds . . . . . Vidvakta (about 4 letters lost). His feet, a lotus kissed by the rays of the jewels set in the crowns of kings.
6. Pravarasena . . . . (his) son was, as the sun's rays are proper to the expanding fresh lotus . . . . (about 14 letters lost); whose army was excellent to govern (to punish?)—to him was born a son, who conquered all armies.
7. His son, the chief of kings . . . . (5 letters lost) (adorned?) the earth by Dharma; Kuntala (about 5 letters lost) was the king's son, excellent (pravara), powerful, liberal, and skilful in governing (pravara).
8. (About 4 letters lost) . . . . His son . . . . (about 14 letters lost) reign of Pravarasena . . . . who when eight years old governed the kingdom well.

- g. His son (was ?) (4 letters lost) Deva Sena, in this world, whose beautiful enjoyments (about 3 letters lost) Bopya (about 6 letters lost) earth, for the king's power of merit.
10. Rájá . . . . (about 7 letters lost) . . . . the resort of good qualities . . . . illustrious in the world (was) Hasti Bhoja . . . . prasa . . . . he . . . . whose breast was large and powerful, and (to him ?) whose eyes are like the lotus . . . . kshapi.
11. (About 19 letters lost) . . . . afterwards, he who resembled the elephants (at the eight quarters), benefactor, humble . . . . a favourite (of the king ?) . . . . imitator of the conduct, indestructible.
12. (19 letters lost) Kaschata . . . . (one letter lost), who, possessing a mind inclined to the well-being of the people, for the happy and excellent protection of . . . . (4 letters lost) . . . . ever kind as a mother, and easily accessible as a friend, flourished.
13. (About 21 letters lost) . . . . by a . . . . (4 letters lost) the king, being at peace, entrusted his affairs (to his minister ?) and, although accustomed to act without restraint, abandoned all enjoyments. Then succeeded his son (about 14 letters lost) . . . . hara . . . . (4 letters lost) . . . . vihára ishána . . . . whose prowess and glory were like those of Hari ; he Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kosala Trikúta, Láta, Andhra (conquered ?).
14. (About 19 letters lost) . . . . by his faultless qualities.
15. (About 9 letters lost) . . . . by his faultless qualities, the son of Hasti Bhoja, celebrated in this world, became the minister of that king—the whole earth.
16. (About 20 letters lost) whose mind was firm, courageous, who was endowed with liberality, mercy, charity,—was devoted to religion and governed the country with justice.

.... (was surrounded with) the rays of glory, mercy, and good qualities.

17. (About 6 letters lost) Saha (about 11 letters lost) made the greatest increase of merit (about 3 letters not made out clearly) (about 6 letters lost)—he—at the time more ..... (works?) made prisons—life, age, wealth, and happiness.
18. (Words altogether of 17 letters not well made out, but evidently meaning) for the benefit of mother and father, established the house (cave?) (about 12 letters lost) .... ruddhata .... in the great hill occupied by Bhujagendra.
19. (About 6 letters lost)—pa—(about 10 letters lost) the spot covered with creepers, &c.—windows (three letters lost)—Vithivedika (2 letters lost) drakupramadyascha ... . . . the arrangement of pleasing pillars.
20. (About 7 letters lost) cold (12 letters lost) Talasanníti (about 6 letters lost) delightful—(about 7 letters lost) (containing?) the great place of rest, nágendra palace, &c.
21. (About 5 letters lost) ramaranása (about 15 letters lost)—rays (about 3 letters lost) where there is an opportunity of enjoying extreme happiness.
22. (About 3 letters lost) the magnificence of kings' palaces ..... the cave of Mandara (about 20 letters lost)—as wished—(about 4 letters lost) .... on the most beautiful mountain.
23. (About 4 letters lost) by me made? Videha (about 16 letters lost)—whose birth-name was, whose humility was expanded by pleasing favours, and whose mind was not crooked.
24. (About 3 letters lost) Laya (absorption) the glory of the crowns of chiefs of gods (about 18 letters lost) .... by circumstances was, Varáha Deva, having enjoyed the pleasures of kings.

25. (About 4 letters lost) the good Sugata, the well-stored cloud, body of snake (about 6 letters lost) disposition—as long as by the bright rays, so long ought inner hall to be used.
26. (About 10 letters lost)—the three jewels (1 letter lost) (3 letters not well made out)—the mountain resorted to by the great, and whose top is occupied by caves of various kinds.
27. (About 10 letters lost) (may) the world also—enter, from the destruction of collective and individual evils, the painless, fearless, peaceful and excellent abode.
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#### AJUNTA INSCRIPTION ON ROCK IN CAVE No. XVII.

##### *Translation.*

1. (2 letters lost) Obeisance to the Muni, the great lord of the three Vidyás (Buddha collections) whose most charitable act is the gift of Viháras, their qualities and names are described. The king who has obtained life and by (2 letters lost) the umbrella is held, had a son named Dhritaráshtra, who had the white umbrella.

2. (2 letters lost) This king's son, whose countenance was beautiful like the lotus and the moon, was Hari Sámba—his son of spotless wealth was Kshitipála Sauri Sámba.

3. (4 letters lost) was Upendragupta, very famous and illustrious. Afterwards, his son, well known as Skácha.

4. (6 letters lost) for securing fame in the world (2 letters lost) basá—the king's son celebrated in the world, was king Nila-pasa.

5. (About 5 letters lost) Of illustrious fame was the celebrated Skácha. After him, the increaser of the brightness of the king's family and race was Krishnadása.

6. (About 6 letters lost) (the king's) daughter named Ambichandrā, whose dress was white as the rays of the moon, with countenance like the full moon, and whose peculiar ornaments were humility and piety, was (his wife ?)

7. (About 7 letters lost) (the succeeding words not well made out) (one letter lost). In his heart expanded like the lotus (about 5 letters lost) (three syllables) of beautiful form.

8. Comparable to (Pradyumna] a (Cupid) and Sāmba (were) the two sons—the first was destined to rule the earth, the second (had) the name Ravi Sāmba.

9. (About 12 letters lost) Asmaka\* (one letter lost) sú (one letter lost) appeared beautiful like the sun and moon.

10. (About 11 letters lost) haniva—(about 4 letters lost) particularly cultivated the friendship (one letter lost) pranayo —always conducted themselves with unanimity and happiness (the two brothers).

11. (About 11 letters lost) (3 syllables) whose punishment was (severe ?) produced from former actions, Vima Shimalī (?) regarding the younger (brother?) (about 3 syllables not well made out) who has praised (Buddha ?)

12. (About 10 letters lost) courage, mercy (2 letters lost) the (chief) king, the minister with the appellation Anitya, afterwards nurtured the great tree of merit.

13. (About 10 letters lost) nn̄i—(about 2 letters lost) sa (some letters lost) pána (1 letter lost) attained great learning and exercised charity, mercy, happiness, friendship, forgiveness, bravery, and wisdom.

14. (About 12 letters lost) He well-copied the pure conduct of (former) kings, with still purer actions.

\* Very likely Amburaháyutákshána, "whose eyes were elongated like the lotus."

15. (12 letters lost) (Cha) kára (4 letters not well made out) in the same way the brotherhood of mendicants was found increased.

16. (About 11 letters lost) ya (1 letter lost) (tákshána?) Loving (the mendicants?) as his sons, full of compassion, by means of gifts of money left.

17. (About 12 letters lost) makers ..... instantaneously ... ... attainment of the love and meditation of Sarvajnya (Buddha), and realities disappeared from the world ?

18. (About 11 letters lost) mba (7 not well deciphered) by the water of glory, white as the rays of the moon, he beautified the whole world.

19. (About 16 letters lost) moon (2 letters lost) Hari (shena), a moon among great kings, the benefactor of his subjects ; whilst protecting the earth.

20. (About 11 letters lost)—wonderful accumulation of merit (2 letters lost) from whom the dawn of ornamental gifts of the earth of Stúpas and Viháras—to the delight of the mountaineers.

21. (About 11 letters lost) (3 syllables not well made out) the sounding (about 6 letters lost) (3 syllables) by the great—(4 letters lost) at the (insufferable) foot of the Sahya (mountain).

22. (About 11 letters lost) The stupendous Chaitya of Munirája (Buddha), this monolithic temple-jewel.

23. (About 10 letters lost) having given plenty, constructed a Chaitya here, difficult even to be imagined by little minds (3 letters not well made out)

24. (About 12 letters lost)—Sé—conveyer of beautiful (a place) sweet, light, clear, cold, and plentiful water,\* a magnificent place of rest.

\* This evidently alludes to the beautiful waterfall and the collection of water below, at the extremity of the valley in which the caves are situated.

25. (About 14 letters lost) delightful in every way, at the extremity of the hill, towards the west, constructed the great Gandha-kuṭī (cave).

26. (About 11 letters lost) whose actions are directed towards good ; for the attainment of the meditation of Muṇindranātha (Buddha) in this world may all wished-for wealth be.

27. (About 14 letters lost) na—humble by him (may) the Mandapa (temple) so long as the sun destroys darkness by its rays lead to the dawn of good of the virtuous.

#### AJUNTA INSCRIPTION ON ROCK IN CAVE No. XXV.

##### *Translation.*

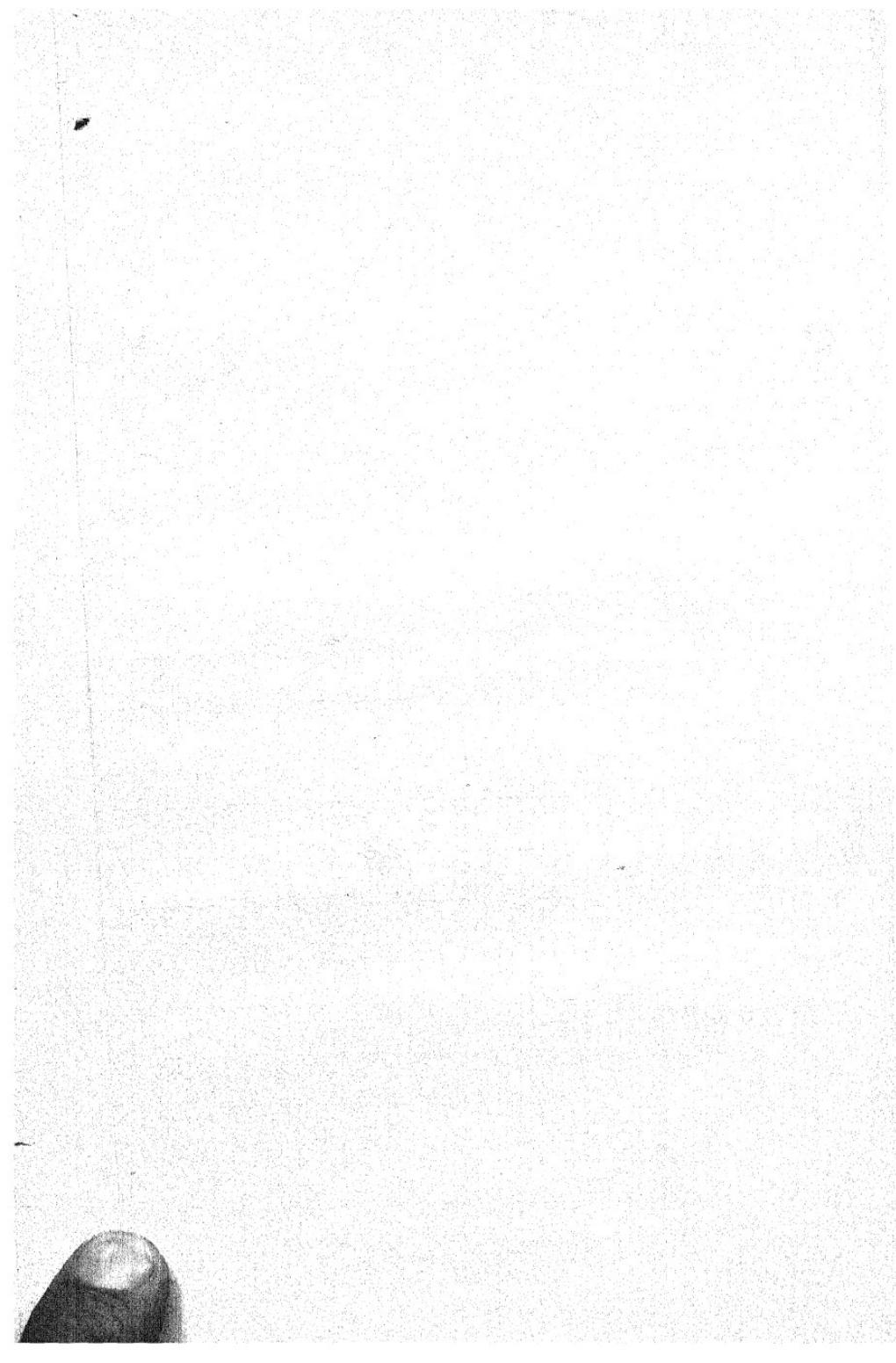
1. (Anxious for and) intent upon the good of the world ..... (4 letters lost) ..... a doer of good and happiness, the most excellent—the lord of Munis—who is unaffected by the three states—who is the source of all qualities—whose pure moonlight (halo or glory) is that of intense compassion.\*

2. He who was relieved from the round of deaths (transmigration) obtained the state of freedom from decay and of immortality, and being of fearless mind obtained the state of eternal happiness and excellence which still makes of the worlds a city of peace.

3. To him who is fruitful, plentiful, and substantial, obeisance and praise are becoming ; to him the offer of a single flower leads to the attainment of the fruit known as heaven and moksha (beatitudo).

4. For this reason, in this world, the reasonable being intent on doing good ought to pay intense devotion to the

\* I am not sure whether I have rightly understood the whole of this line.



Tathágatas, who are distinguished for praiseworthy attributes, who show great compassion to mankind, and whose heart is full of tender mercy.

5. The gods, being liable to misery, are not glorious ;\* Sambhu, by a curse, had his eyes agitated by fright; Krishna also, being subject to another, fell a prey to death. Therefore the Sugatas, relieved eminently from fear, are glorious.

6. Even the grateful and good Muni, who was the chief of the elders who propounded the institutes, and who meritoriously discharged the several duties of human life, caused to be constructed a mountain-abode of the Lord.

7. It is becoming in Bodhisatvas, who have great opulence, and who are anxious both for worldly and for final and eternal happiness (moksha), that they should first perform glorious deeds.

8. (It is said that) as long as its fame lasts in this world so long does the spirit enjoy delight in heaven, therefore glorious works, calculated to last as long as the sun and the moon, should be constructed in mountains.

10. For the spiritual benefit of Bhavvirája, the minister  
 11. of the very glorious Asmakarája whose goodhearted-  
 12. ness has existed in various lives ; who is firm, grateful,  
 of good intellect, learned eminently learned, in the  
 doctrines of the A'cháryas and of the Suras and Asuras ;†  
 who knows people thoroughly ; who is the patron of the  
 zealous followers of the very compassionate Sámantabhadra  
 (Buddha) ; who is of good speech and great by qualities ;  
 who is the image of humility ; who is renowned in the world  
 for good acts :—this great minister of the king, who gets

\* Literally, " have their triumph intensely set."

† This refers probably to Asásanasaniti and Bárh spatya niti.

works of immense labour, which may be exacted by force, performed by mild measures, whom resembled his son, the clever Devarája, who, after his father's death did credit to his dignity by his good qualities ; also for the good of his own mother and father did Buddha-bhadra cause this Sugata abode to be constructed (by Devarája), having first called the good disciples and Bhikshus, Dharmadatta, and Bhadra-bandhu, who completed my house.

13. May the merits of this be to them and to the worlds for the attainment of the great Bodhi fruit, renowned for all the pure qualities.

14. He who, surrounded by his family in his youth, after learning the Bauddha institutes, became a mendicant, whose vows are many, whose heart is pure from good disposition, and who qualified himself as a guide for the eternal happiness (moksha) of the people\*.....(about 20 syllables not well made out.)

15. (6 letters lost)—cha.....(one letter lost).....yamá (3 letters lost).....for the sake of the people.....produced (or much) ..... (3 letters lost) ..... greatly merit by him vipáka (3 letters lost) Ráná—happiness arises.

16. Not to the worlds—(6 letters lost) (some words not well made out) ..... top of hill.

17. The house occupied by the Chief of Yogis (Buddha) (4 letters lost) ..... established for the glory of his father.† The former one was.....(established) (by Navadribdháchárya) for the prolonged happiness of the Saugatas (followers of Sugata or Buddha).

\* This, no doubt, refers to Buddha-bhadra.

† As the cave is for the merit of Devarája's father, I presume his mother was living at the time of the inscription.

*Painted inscription in cave No. ix.*

Some letters too disconnected for decipherment.

*Painted inscription in cave No. x.*

"In the Cave (?) of the Chaitya, the most intelligent Vipasyl."

*Rock inscriptions in cave No. ii.*

1. On the front rock—

"The charitable assignation of the place by Ghanávha Bania of...?"

2. Under one of the arches—

"The gift of Ghara-mukha (house-door) by Vásithiputra."

*Painted inscription in cave No. xvi.*

"The charitable assignation—"

"The charitable assignation of the Sákya mendicant Bhadanta Dharmadatta. May the merit of this be the cause of attainment of supreme knowledge to mother and father and to all beings."

*Another painted inscription in cave No. xvi.*

(The same as above.)

*Third painted inscription in cave No. xvii.*

"The charitable assignation of Bhadanta Buddhaka. May the merit of this be the cause of attainment of supreme knowledge to mother and father and to all beings."

*Painted inscription in cave No. xvii.*

"Sibi Rájá, Indra. Sibi Rájá, Indra."

*Painted inscriptions in caves No. I., II., and x.*

"The charitable gift of Vriddhika ?"

"The charitable gift of the Upásaka..."

"The charitable gift of Bhadanta Praudha Dharma."

"Of A'chárya Sadeva."

“Charitable assignation. May the merit of this be to all beings, for the release from misery...of Upásaka Munindra....”

“The charitable assignation.....”

“The charitable assignation of Sákyá mendicant Bhadanta Bhadra.”

“Sri.....??”

“The abode of Sivadeva Vídu.”

*Rock inscription in cave No. xxv., under a large sculptured image of Buddha.*

“The charitable assignation of the Sákyá mendicant Bhadanta Gunákara. May the merit of this be to father and mother (and other members of the family?) and to all beings for supreme knowledge.”

*Rock inscription in cave No. xxv., under a sculptured image of Buddha on the opposite side.*

“The charitable assignation.....”

“May the merit of this.....”

“To all beings.....”

*Painted inscriptions in cave No. xxi., under painted images of Buddhas.*

“Vipasyi Sikhi Visvabhú....Kanaka Muni, Kásyapa, Sákyá Muni, Maitre (ya)”

“The charitable assignation of Sákyá-Bhikshu...May the merit of this.....be to father and mother and to all beings...Endowed with beauty and good fortune, good qualities and organs, the bright.....protectors of light.....thus become pleasing to the eye.”

#### REMARKS.

The most important of the inscriptions is undoubtedly the one from the Zodiac or Shield Cave (No. xvi). It contained the names of seven or eight kings of the Vákataka dynasty;

but only that of Vindhyaśakti, the oldest and most eminent, is preserved intact. By a strange fatality the inscription has been obliterated wherever a royal name existed, so that one is tempted to suppose that the destruction was intentional. But the destructive influence of the rainy weather is sufficient to account for the gaps. The inscription in its present imperfect condition would have almost failed to give us any valuable information: but taken in connection with the contents of the Seoni copper-plate grants, deciphered and published by Mr. Prinsep in the 5th volume of his Journal, and with certain passages in the Purāṇas, I am enabled to point out a dynasty of Yavanas or Greeks in Central India, taking the lead in the performance of Vedic sacrifices, as well as executing the most substantial and costly works for the encouragement of Buddhism. The Seoni copper grants mention a dynasty of kings of the Vākātaka race or Vākātaka country. I append Mr. Prinsep's translation of this remarkable document. In his remarks Mr. Prinsep observed "neither the country nor the boundary villages mentioned, nor any of the said Rājā's family, can be recognized! The dynasties of Cuttack, the nearest resembling Vākātaka in sound, exhibit no such names as Pravarasena, Rudrasena, Prithivīsenā, Rudrasena, and, again, Pravarasena, who successively ruled over this unknown province." (p. 729 vol. v.)

The name of Vindhyaśakti is not given in the Seoni copper-plates, as the poet commences his account from Pravarasena; but Vindhyaśakti is stated in the Vishnu and some of the other Purāṇas to have been the chief of the Kailakila Yavanas. The passages in the Vishnu, Vāyu, Matsya, and Bhāgavata purāṇas are too corrupt to be annexed.

The Vāyu-purāṇa makes Pravarasena the son of Vindhyaśakti, and describes the performance of the same sacrifices by Pravarasena as are noticed in the Seoni plates. The inscription clearly describes the king Vindhyaśakti as belonging to the Vākātaka race, whilst the Seoni grants mention Pravarasena

as the ornament of that race. We are, therefore, fully justified in assuming that Vindhyaśakti was the father of Pravarasena of the Vākātaka dynasty. With this guide it is not difficult to discover him in the inscription itself. The words Pravara and Pravarasena occur in the inscription shortly after the praises of Vindhyaśakti. Mostly the word is used as an adjective, but in one place, 6th line, Pravarasena the king is no doubt meant.\* The poet plays upon the adjective "pravara" to show his own skill and scholarship, which are not profound. Rudrasena it is not easy to make out ; but there is the word *vas* or *vi* preceding the word *en* in line 9, from which we may well assume that the name is Prithivisena. (This at my last visit proved to be Devasena, the son, I presume, of Pravarasena.) In the Seoni plates we have the following genealogy :—

Pravarasena.  
Rudrasena.  
Prithivisena.  
Rudrasena.  
Pravarasena.

In the inscription I recognize, in addition to Vindhyaśakti, the 1st and 2nd Pravarasena, and his son Devasena, the three intervening names being lost, viz., Rudrasena, Prithivisena, and Rudrasena.

Hasti Bhoja and his son do not belong to a royal dynasty. In the 15th line the son, whose name is lost, is said to have become the minister of "that king," by which I presume one of the Vākātaka dynasty was intended. The exact position of Varāha-deva it is impossible to fix, on account of the extensive obliterations. Is he the Varāṅga-deva of the Vishnu-purāna? There is a Dharani Varāha noticed by

\* Since these remarks were made their correctness has been fully confirmed by the discovery of the word Pravarasenasya in the eighth line, in my last visit to the caves.

Mr. Prinsep in the Journ. Beng. As. Soc., vol. vii., p. 636, but he appears to me to have been one of the early Chálukyas.

The Vákátaka kings seem to have had something to do with Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kosala, Trikúta Láta, and Andhra. And as the verse speaks of Hari Vikramapratápa, very likely the countries were invaded or conquered by one of the kings.

The situation of Vákátaka and its boundaries we have no means of finding. Mr. E. Thomas, in noticing an inscription close to the temple of Rudradeva at Warangal, states that the dominions of Rudradeva of Cuttack, in the 12th century, extended as far west as Vákátaka. (Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, by Thomas, vol. ii., p. 267.) This agrees with the situation of our Vákátaka, in which, according to our inscription, was the city of Kánchanapuri, which was also in all likelihood the capital. A village of Vákátaka is mentioned in the Seoni plates.

What is the meaning of Kailakila or Kolakila? Sir W. Jones's pandit thought that there was a country of this name in the south of India, and the name of a fort called Kil-kil-Durgá in a copper-plate grant was supposed to be confirmatory of the pandit's guess.

Whether there was a country so named in Southern India or not, the resemblance of the word to Ghúlghúleh, an ancient city near Bámián, is striking. Mr. Masson, in an interesting paper on the Antiquities of Bámián (Beng. As. Soc., vol. v., p. 708), alludes to the remains of the city and citadel of Ghúlghúleh. The evidences of Ghúlghúleh are, he says, "numerous and extensive, proving that it must have been an important city." If Vindhyaśakti was a Yavana, or only the chief of the Kailakila Yavanas, it is not too much to suppose that they came from Ghúlghúleh, and brought with them the art of excavating caves, and also of adorning them with sculptures and paintings.

The magnificence of the palaces of Bactria has been noticed both by Fahian and Hiouen-Thsang.

If Kailakila be supposed to be a Sanskrit adaptation of Ghúlgúleh, is it not probable that Vákáṭaka is an adaptation of Bactria? I am aware that Bactria is best known as Balkh, and its people as Báhlíkas, or more correctly, Válhikas. We have, indeed, in some of the Puráṇas, the statement that three Báhlíkas succeeded the dynasty of Vindhyaṣakti.

Those who have examined the paintings at the caves of Ajunta have arrived at the opinion that they are the handiwork of Bactrian Greeks. Some have supposed the paintings to be the work of Egyptian artists, and others of Italians. I reserve my remarks on the subject for another paper.

Fahian, speaking of the palaces of Asoka, says "the palaces of the king within the town have walls the stones of which were put together by the genii. The sculpture and the carved work which adorn the windows are such as cannot be equalled by the present age; they still exist."\*

Asoka had a Greek governor over Suráshtra, and the Rudra Dámá inscription tells us that this officer ornamented the bridge over the Palásiní.

The beautiful sculptures at Bhilsa are undoubtedly the work of Greek artists; but a short passage from Hiouen Thsang shows, that, long before his time, even the princes of Southern India adorned their palaces in imitation of those of Bactriana. In speaking of the convent of Avarasílā Samgháráma of Dhanakatcheka (Dhenuka Kata or Mahá Andhra,)† he observes, "An ancient king of this realm had built it to

\* Laidley's translation, p. 253.

† This, the name of a province which occurs several times in the cave inscriptions, has been erroneously supposed to be the name of a Greek architect of the caves (Xenocrates and Theogonus).—The correct rendering of the Chinese equivalent for the convent is, I venture to suggest, Aparasílā, and not Avarasílā.

the honour of Buddha, and had displayed in it all the magnificence of the palaces of Tahia (Bactriana)." One would almost think that Hiouen Thsang was describing the Caves of Ajunta in the succeeding remarks : " From thence to the south he made one thousand *li*, and arrived in the kingdom of *Tb-na-kie-tse-kia* (Dhanakatcheka ?).\* East of the capital the convent *Fo-po-chi-lo-kia-lan* (Purvasilá Samgháráma) has been built upon a mountain west of the town ; on the opposite side of the mountain the convent *O-fa-lo-shi-lo-kia-lan* (*Avarasilá Samgháráma*) has been constructed. An ancient king of this realm had built it to the honour of Buddha, and had displayed in it all the magnificence of the palaces of *Tū-hia* (of *Bactriana*). The thick woods by which it was surrounded, and a multitude of bubbling fountains, made it a charming abode. This convent was protected by the spirits of heaven, and the sages and saints loved to walk about it and to inhabit it. During the space of a thousand years which have followed the Nirvána of Buddha, thousands of lay people and of monks were seen, who came together to spend there the time of the retreat during the rainy season. When the latter terminated, all of them obtained the rank of *Arhan*, and departed flying through the sky. One thousand years after (the *Nirvána*) people of the world and sages went there to live together. But during the last century the spirits of the mountains have changed their feelings, and unceasingly show their violence and their wrath. Travellers are justly afraid, and dare no longer to go to that convent ; on this account it is completely deserted in these days, and neither monks nor novices are to be seen there any longer.

" At a small distance, to the south of the town, there is an enormous rock. There *Pō-pi-wei-kia* (*Bhávariveka*), the master of the *Sástras*, dwelt in the place of the *O-su-lo* (Asuras)

\* Southern India.

waiting for the *Tse-shi-pu-sā* (*Maitreya bodhisatva*) to become *Buddha* and to dissipate his doubts.”\*

Although we have long praises of the kings and ministers who caused the caves to be constructed, not a word is to be found either in the rock or painted inscriptions respecting the architects or limners. The names of the eminent Buddhist monks Buddha-bhadra, Bhadra-bandhu Dharmadatta, *Guná-kara*, Buddhaka, Navardritdháchárya, and Praudha Dharma, I have not been able to trace in works relating to Buddhism.

In the inscription in cave No. xvii. we have the following dynasty :—

Dhritaráshtra.

Hari Sámba.

Sauri Sámba.

Ravi Sámba.

Upendragupta, Skácha, Nilapasa, Skácha, and Krishnadásá, appear to belong to another dynasty. The daughter of Krishnadásá (A'machandrá) was the wife of Sauri Sámba. These are all new names, but the Rájás appear not to have been very powerful. The name of the founder of the first dynasty is lost. The name of a minister (probably of Ravi Sámba) is given, and it would appear to be Anitya. There is no clue to the exact site of their kingdoms or capitals.

In the inscription in the Cave No. xxv. we have only the name Asmaka-rája, whose minister was Bhavvi-rája, whose son was Deva-rája. Asmaka is the name of a country, and hence its ruler is styled Asmaka-rája. In the Varáha-samhitá, chap. xi., v. 11, Asmaka is classed with Drávida, Videha, Andhra, Dámápura, Kankana, Máhishka, Kuntala, Kerala, Dandaká, and Kántipura, whose Svámi or lord, says Varáha, is Mangala (Mars). Pánini also tells us that the king of Asmaka, as well as his son, ought to be called Asmaki.

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\* Histoire de la Vie de Hiouen-Thsang, par Stanislas Julien, Paris 1853,  
p. 188.

The inscription offers a good insight into some of the peculiar doctrines of Buddhism, but on this and on the age of the caves and inscriptions I must take another opportunity of writing. I may here mention, however, that the paintings are not older than the sixth or seventh century of the Christian era.

The painted inscriptions require little notice. The names of the seven Buddhas agree with Mr. Prinsep's list. The verse regarding merit to mother and father, and to all living beings, I have met with engraved on the Kuden caves.

The names of Rájá Sibi and Indra over two figures representing him and his queen and Indra are fitly introduced in the illustrations of the Buddhist Pantheon.—The story of the Rájá is interesting, and I append a translation from the Mahá-bhárata.

#### APPENDICES.

#### SEONI COPPERPLATE GRANTS.

(*From the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, voi. v., p. 729.*)

*Translation.*

*Of the Seal.*—The irresistible edict (sásanam) of the illustrious prince of hereditary lineage, the ornament of Vákátaka, Rájá Pravara Sena.

*Of the Copperplates.*—Drishtamasi nama.\* The illustrious Mahárájá Pravara Sena of the race of Vishnurudra,† the rishi, performer of the several sacrifices of Agnishtoma, Aptoryamekta, Shorasyatirátra Vájapé, Vrishpati, Sadyaskra, and the Chaturasvamédha, ruled over the entire (province of) Vákátaka. In his place‡ (succeeded) the superlative lord,

\* This might possibly be an invocation in the usual form, but no divinity of the name of Drishtamasi, of which the letters are quite distinct, is known.

† [This should be read Vishnu Vriddha.]—B. D.

‡ This is distinctly [His son was].—B. D.

devoted to Bhairavā—happy in being the vehicle of the moon-like\* Sivalinga,—the great king of Vākātaka, Sri Rudra Sena, grandson of Gotamī, the daughter of the great king Bhavanāga,† who was descended from a race of conquerors entitled to be inaugurated with the unsullied water of Bhagirathi (the Ganges), and who had bathed in the sanctified water of the Dasasvamedha sacrifice—the Bharasiva race. To him succeeded the diligent worshipper of Mahesvara,‡ the just, upright, benevolent, brave, heroic, moral, humble, highminded, strict in religious observances, victorious through faith, of a soul free from blemish, endowed with all these virtues ;— (who was) blessed with a century's store of treasures, of the benefits of civil polity, of warlike armament, of children and grandchildren,—who was as celebrated as Yudhisthira, the great prince of Vākātaka, Sri Prithivi Sena. To whom succeeded the protected of the discus-holding divinity,§—the most opulent Mahārāja of Vākātaka, Sri Rudra Sena ;—who was followed by the son of Prabhavati Guptā, the daughter of the conformer to ancestral customs—the upright conqueror of his enemies—the great king of kings Sri Deva Gupta,—the protected of Siva—possessing the firmness of the Rājās of the Satyayuga,—surpassing all of the Vākātaka princes, Mahārāja Sri Pravara Sena, whose edict is (as follows) :—

Erna Kāryyaratāge,|| in the 18th year of his reign,¶ on the 12th day of the light half of the month of Phalguna, to Deva Sarmāchārya, chanter of the Sāma Veda, of the Modgala tribe, and the Taitriya sect, is granted with the cere-

\* White. The epithet signifies a devoted worshipper of Siva.

† Or Bhavanātha (?)

‡ Siva.

§ Vishnu.

|| The sense of this passage is obscure—one pandit, by alteration to चत्वरिंशिरागे, would make it express “at a solar eclipse,” a common period for dating similar documents.

¶ Pravaraddhamān-rājya Samvat (?)

monies of sprinkling Ganges water, Kérata(?), and distribution of 100 pans,—the village of Brahmapura, situated to the north of Vatapura, to the west of Kinauhí-vátak, to the south of Paravarajja-vátak, and to the east of Kollapur ; demarcated by these several boundaries, and seated on the banks of Karanja rivulet (?)

Be it known to all our subjects, our functionaries, and agents, to all obedient ryots now and hereafter, soldiery, spies\*—That with the usual intent of such grants for the increase of our virtue, life, power, wealth and prosperity, here and hereafter, as well as for the divine favour, in the holy district recently conquered by us (the said village is bestowed) free from military-billeting† (?)—where the Rájá's deer and cattle shall not graze‡—not subject to provide flowers and milk.§ Where shall be neither spy, nor royal-chair, nor magazine||.....¶ ? in which the inhabitants shall not be liable to bégár or forced labour ; along with its buried treasures and such like ;—and with all its stock and the like ;—as long as the sun and moon shall endure, to be enjoyed by him, his sons and descendants. Let none prevent or oppose, but defend (his possession)—and let him enjoy all increase by cultivation. Whoever shall disobey this order, or make encroachment or abstraction, by himself or through others, shall be liable to fine or punishment before the judicial authorities.

Written by the pandit of the general Bappa Deva in this court of justice (Dharmádhikarane). Whatever pious fame

\* Bhartus chhānráscha.

† Avatacchatrapravéṣya—all the succeeding epithets laudatory of the jagir are equally far-fetched and obscure.

‡ Apàramparagobalivarddah.

§ Apashpakshirasandoha.

|| Achárasanavarmangara (for ágára). It was customary with Rájás to keep an A san or throne, a spy and armour, at each village.

¶ Alivanathinvakrenidhanatra (?) Sarvavishtiparihara parihrita (?)

has accrued to princes of yore from similar acts should be remembered, and those who come hereafter should uphold them (?). The holy Vyās has the following two verses to this effect :—

“ He who bestoweth land on Brahmans shall enjoy 60,000 years’ happiness in heaven ; and he who resumeth it shall abide an equal term in hell. If he take away either by himself or by others, his sin is equal to that of the slaughter of a hundred thousand cows.”

*Wilson’s Vishnu Purāna*, p. 474.

“ After these, various races will reign, as seven A’bhiras,\* ten Garḍhabas, sixteen Sakas, eight Yavanas, fourteen Tusháras, thirteen Mundas, eleven Maunas, altogether seventy-nine princes, who will be sovereigns of the earth for one thousand three hundred and ninety years ; and then eleven Pauras will be kings for three hundred years. When they are destroyed, the Kailakala Yavanas will be kings ; the chief of whom will be Vindhyaśakti ; his son will be Puranjaya ; his son will be Rámachandra : his son will be Adharma, from whom will be Varánga, Kritanandana, Sudhinandi, Nandiyasas, Sisuka, and Pravira ; these will rule for a hundred and six years. From them will proceed thirteen sons ; then three Bálhiks, and Pushpamitra, and Pátumitra, and others, to the number of thirteen, will rule over Mekalá. There will be nine kings in the seven Kosalas, and there will be as many Naishadha princes.

In Magadha a sovereign named Visvasphátiка will establish other tribes ; he will extirpate the Kshatriya or martial race, and elevate fishermen, barbarians, and Brahmans, and other castes, to power. The nine Nágas will reign in Padmávati, Kántipuri, and Mathurá ; and the Guptas of Magadha along the Ganges to Prayág. A prince named Devarakshita

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\* I have found the name of this dynasty, and of some of the kings, in the cave inscriptions, and the latter also in coins,

will reign, in a city on the sea-shore, over the Kosalas, Odras, Pundras, and Támraliptas. The Guhas will possess Kalinga, Máhihaka, and the mountains of Mahendra. The race of Mánidhanu will occupy the countries of the Nishádas, Naimishikas and Kálatoyas. The people called Kanakas will possess the Amazon country, and that called Múshika. Men of the three tribes, but degraded, and Abhíras and Súdras will occupy Suráshtra, Avanti, Súra, Arbuda, and Marubhúmi ; and Súdras, outcastes, and barbarians, will be masters of the banks of the Indus, Dárvika, the Chandrabhágá, and Kásmira."

*Legend of Sibi or King Usinara, from chapters 130 and 131 of  
Agniparvá of the Mahábhárata*

The gods Agni and Indra entered the court of king Usinara to try the piety of the king. Indra transformed himself into the bird Siyena (the hawk), and Agni into a Capota (pigeon), and then both entered the sacrificial chambers. The pigeon being afraid of the hawk, and being anxious to save its life, took refuge on the king's lap. Upon this the hawk observed : "O king, all the princes look upon you as eminently pious, and I do not understand why you should be induced to commit an act wholly opposed to all kinds of duty. O king, I am starving with hunger, and therefore have every right to take this prey ; do not therefore prevent me from doing it from false motives of your duty. You will not be doing your duty in this." The King replies, O great bird, this bird pigeon being afraid of you, and being desirous of saving itself, and of escaping from your annoyance, has come to me. Do you not see that I should be acting quite contrary to my duty if I were to betray him and give him over to you, since he came here in the full expectation of finding succour. O Siyena, I see that this Capota is frightened and trembling. He has come to me for his life. To refuse him assistance would therefore be meanness on my part, and I

avcr that those who kill either a Brahmana or a cow ( who is the mother of the people), or refuse shelter to one who seeks it in humble submission, deserve the same punishment." *Siyena.*—"O King, food is the cause of the whole creation, and it is its supporter when created. It is that which enables animals to assume life. One may live without anything else which is looked upon as indispensable, but not without food. O King, my life which is now kept away from my prey, will soon leave for a path which is free from all danger. O pious king, my death will cause the ruin of my wife, children, &c. In preserving the Capota you do not preserve the lives of many. The duty which opposes duty is no duty,—it is sin. Duty is that which never conflicts with duty. Pray, therefore, consider the proper path of duty.

*King.*—"O great bird, your speech is very excellent. Are you the eagle, who is the king of birds? You are undoubtedly aware of what duty consists in. Your conversation is therefore certainly full of the knowledge of one's duty. It appears to me that there are very few things which you do not understand. I am therefore astonished how you counsel betrayal of a refugee. O bird, you are doing all this for getting food, but you can get it better in some other way; you can satisfy your hunger either on a bull, or a pig, or a deer, or a buffalo. These are all within your reach,—you can have anything else here that you may desire." *Siyena.*—"O king, I do eat neither pigs nor bulls, nor deer. Nothing else will do for me. O great Kshatriya! God has appointed this Capota for my prey, and I therefore pray you to deliver it to me. The Siyenas have from time immemorial been in the habit of eating Capotas. O king, if you want the support of a stout trunk, do not go for assistance to a delicate plantain stem." *King.*—"I make over to you the territories of Sivi, and am also ready to give you anything except this bird which seeks shelter from me. O great bird, say what you would desire me to do that you may be induced to leave it. I

shall do anything but give up this bird." *Siyena*.—"O king Usinara! if you desire to save the life of this bird, give me so much of your own flesh as would suffice to balance its weight. That will satisfy me." "I am thankful to you," replied the king, "for what you ask, and shall be glad to weigh out to you flesh from my own body during the course of the day." The king thereupon taking out a portion of the flesh of his body began to balance it with the Capota, but the bird would always weigh heavier than the flesh, although the king went on making additions from his flesh. When Usinara had exhausted all his flesh, he placed his whole body in the scales to balance the bird. Siyetia then declared that he was Indra, and that the Capota was Agni, and they came there to the Rája's sacrificial chambers to know Dharma. "You are an embodiment of Dharma itself. The fact of your having cut off flesh from your body would spread your fame throughout the world. As long as your name is remembered, you will be known as righteous, and enjoying the several states of happiness promised us hereafter." So saying Siyena returned to the heavens. The pious king, too, after filling the world with his piety, followed it.

The story is also related briefly in the *Kathá-sarita-ságara Lumbak Taranga*, 7.

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### III.

*Transcript, and Translation of the "Sah" or Rudrā Dáma Inscription on a Rock at Junagur; also of one of Skandagupta on the northern face of the Rock; with some brief Remarks on the Sah, Gupta, and Valabhi Dynasties.*

THE "Sah" inscription, the revised facsimile and translation of which have this day been submitted to the Society, was deciphered and published by Prinsep in the seventh volume of the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, p. 334. Mr. E. Thomas has republished the same in his admirable edition of

Prinsep, and has added to revised translation of the record by Professor H. H. Wilson, based on an independent transcript of the original which Mr. Thomas had prepared with much care from the improved facsimile of Messrs. Westergaard and Jacob, published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for April 1842.

Professor Wilson's translation is anything but an improvement. Having secured the services of a young Brahman who possessed a moderate knowledge of Sanskrit and of the cave-character, I induced him to study the character well, and employed him last year to take copies, leisurely and carefully of the three large inscriptions on the Junágad rock, the third being the celebrated edicts of Asoka. The copies were brought to Bombay and carefully gone over, but, not being quite satisfied, the young Pandit was again sent to Junágad, where he and another person copied the inscriptions, but independent of each other, and afterwards took facsimiles on paper and on cloth. The copies made by the hand in small letters were sent to me in Bombay, whilst the copyists remained at Junágad to receive suggestions, &c., from me. All possible variations having thus been carefully considered with my learned Pandit Pándurang-gopála Pádhyé, the mature result is now presented to the Society. I found the copies of Messrs. Westergaard and Jacob very useful as guides, but insufficient for the purpose of decipherment.

The translation of the so-called Sah inscription differs in many important particulars from that of Mr. Prinsep. The name of the lake Sudarsana occurs at the very commencement, but is not recognized by him. Mr. Prinsep's Aridáma is only a mislection of Rudra Dáma from the imperfect facsimile.

An historical fact of great importance in my translation is, that Rudra Dáma appears to have been a grandson of Svámi Chashtan, and not his son. The inscription contained the father's name, but that part of it is, unfortunately, com-

pletely lost. The names of the countries, as I read them, over which Rudra Dáma ruled, are also somewhat different. The names A'kara and Avanti occur in Padumávi's inscription in one of the Násika caves ; the others need not detain us here.

The name of the actual builder of the bridge is not the Pahlava Mávyá or contractor, as rendered by Mr. Prinsep, but the Pahlava minister of Rudra Dáma, named Suvisákha, a Sanskrit adaptation, I think, of the Persian name Siávaksha. His father's name, as I make it out, is Kulaipa, and Siávaksha appears to have been the governor of A'narta and Suráshtra.

This inscription offers materials for many observations, but I must, reluctantly, postpone making any to another opportunity.

In the second inscription we have the names of Skandagupta and of Parnadatta and his son Chakrapálita.

Skandagupta is undoubtedly the monarch whose name has been discovered in coins, on the Bhitári Lát, and on the Kuhaon pillar. To-day I have fulfilled the promise I made in my paper on Kálidása (Jour. Bom. Br. R. A. S., vi., p. 207,) of furnishing a translation of the remaining Junágad inscription. Mr. Thomas has remarked that "up to this time no more satisfactory account of its purpose and contents can be given than is to be found in the brief notice published by Prinsep in April 1838 (Prinsep's Indian Antiquities by Thomas, vol. i., p. 247)." All that Mr. Prinsep found was "an allusion to Skandagupta, one of the Gupta family," &c. It appears that Parnadatta was appointed governor of Suráshtra by Skandagupta, and the son of Parnadatta named Chakrapálita with two sons were in office in the same province. The Sudarsana lake appears to have given way in the 130th year of the Gupta Kála, or Gupta era ; it was repaired seven years after, in the 137th year of the Gupta Kála by Chakrapálita, who also erected a temple to Vishnu on the top of the Jayanta

hill, or the hill of Girnar, in the 138th year of the same era.\*

In my essay on Kálidásá I remarked in a foot-note that the Kuhaon pillar inscription is dated "in the 141st year of the Gupta dynasty, in the reign of Skandagupta, and not after his decease, as deciphered by Prinsep." The present inscription leaves no doubt of the correctness of my interpretation, and will enable us to fix the chronology of the Gupta and Valabhi monarchs with some certainty.

The position of Skandagupta in relation to the Gupta era being now placed beyond doubt, the other dates of Chandragupta, Samudragupta, and Budhagupta, as made out from inscriptions, must now be granted to commence from the Gupta era.

The dates obtained are, Chandragupta Vikramáditya 82 (Udayagiri inscription) and 93 (Sanchi inscription), Skandagupta 141 in the Kuhaon pillar inscription, and Budhagupta 161 in the Eran pillar inscription. Colonel Cunningham is mistaken in supposing that the Kuhaon pillar inscription has the date 133, and that it refers to Skandagupta's death (Bhilsa Topes, p. 114).

At the next meeting I shall produce proofs to show that the Valabhi plates are dated in the Saka Nripa Kála, and that the symbol which has been hitherto read 300 represents the fourth century of the Christian era, and is different from those on the coins.

As the Valabhi era is found in Colonel Tod's Somnath inscription to have commenced in A.D. 381, Skandagupta must be placed in A.D. 448-459, with a margin of five or ten years on each side.

The Valabhi plates bear dates, in my opinion, from 310 to 365 Saka Kála, i. e. from A. D. 388 to A.D. 443. The Valabhi dynasty, of which Bhatárka Senápati was the founder, dates

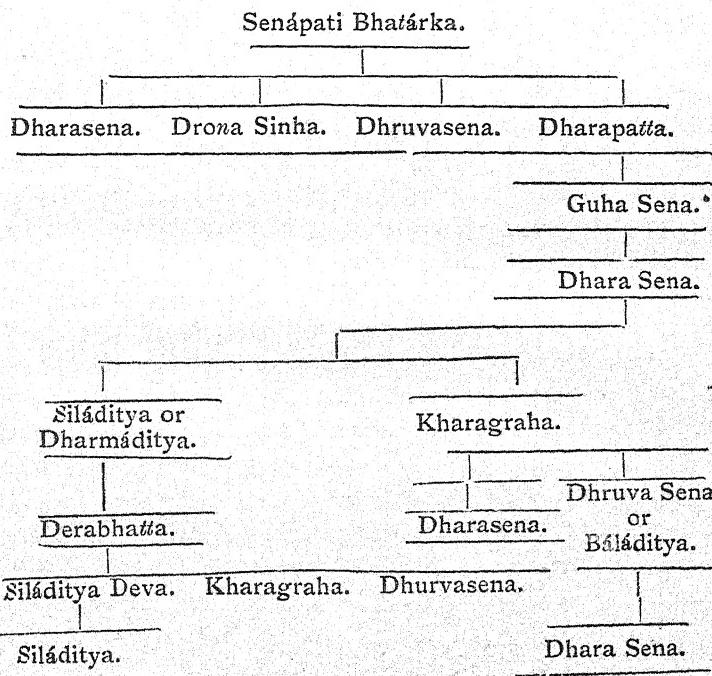
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\* In the present inscription the hill is called Urjayata. Hemachárya, in his Náma-Má'a, calls it Ujjayanta and Raiyata.

its rise, therefore, shortly before Skandagupta, a fact borne out by a comparison of the alphabetical characters of the monumental records of the Gupta dynasty and of the copper-plate grants of Valabhi. I may here remark, that Dr. Mill's interpretation of the Bhitári Lát is most defective; and the genealogy of the Valabhi dynasty has not yet been correctly given.

I should be thankful to any lover of antiquities for procuring for me a fresh facsimile of the Bhitári Lát inscription. I may now warn writers on Indian antiquities against implicitly receiving as correct the names given by Dr. Mill of the female connections of the Guptas, nemely, Lichchavi and Kumáradevi, or of Mahádaitya and Mahendragupta, which in my humble judgment are not to be found in the inscription.

The correct genealogy of the Valabhi dynasty is, I think, as under :—



Colonel Cunningham is right in placing the Gupta era in A.D. 318, but in admitting the Guptas noticed by Hiouen-Thsang amongst the successors of Skandagupta he committed a grave error, which has been correctly and fully exposed by Mr. Thomas, who is, however, I think, himself wrong again in placing the Sáhs of the coins as early as the second and first century before Christ ; and to a brief consideration of this point I shall now proceed.

On comparing the alphabetical characters of the inscriptions in the reign of Padumávī, the A'ndhra king, at Násika, Karlen, and Kánheri, with those of the Rudra Dáma or Sáh inscription, no doubt the Padumávī inscriptions will appear to be the older of the two.

This Padumávī or Puloman was pronounced long ago by Wilford to be identical with Siri Pulomai of Baithan, or Paithan, on the Godaverry, mentioned by Ptolemy Claudius. Professor Lassen has also pointed out the identity. I have found a new inscription of Padumávī on a tank on the Náná Ghát ; there is no reason to doubt that Padumávī, the A'ndhra king, was a contemporary of Ptolemy, and that he flourished about A. D. 120. Ptolemy in noticing Ozene or Ujjayini mentions it as the royal residence of another king, whom he calls Tiastanus. This Tiastanus is, in my opinion, no other than Svámi Chashtana of the Rudra Dáma inscription. If we grant that Chashtana was a contemporary of Padumávī and Ptolemy, we can well allow that Chashtana's grandson Rudra Dáma twice conquered Sátakarnī, lord of Dakshinápatha, who was in all likelihood Gautamiputra, the son of Padumávī.

Within fifty years of Padumávī's death the A'ndhra dynasty ends, a misfortune no doubt brought about by the rising power and personal qualities of Rudra Dáma. I have already stated that a comparison of the alphabetical character of the inscription shows that Rudra Dáma flourished shortly after Padumávī ; I have also assumed that we must place the rise

of the Gupta dynasty in A. D. 318 ; and as there are cogent reasons for believing that the Guptas succeeded the "Sáhs," the date of about A. D. 200 for Rudra Dáma appears not incompatible. I may here remark that the most distinguished monarch of the Sátakarní or Ándhra dynasty was Gautamiputra, the son of Padumávi. He appears to have extended his conquests over Asvaka (?), Asmaka, Mudaka, Suráshtra, Kukura, Aparánta, Anupa Vidarbha, and Akarávati (or Ákara and Avanti ?), and all those provinces over which a Kshatrapa or satrap of the Parthian dynasty (Phrahates ?) ruled immediately before. This I make out from the inscriptions. Gautamiputra boasts of having established the glory of the Sataváhana family, of having defeated Sakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas, and of exterminating the descendants of Khagaráta (Páli), Kshaharáta (Sanskrit), (Phrahates ?)

The countries which are recorded at Násika as having been conquered by Gautamiputra are the very ones over which Rudra Dáma appears from the Junágad inscription to have established his sway, with, in addition, Sauvira, Nishada, and Ánarta.

The Parthian king Nahapána, the exploits of whose son-in-law Ushavadáta are recorded at Násika, clearly flourished before Chashtana and Padumávi. The success with which Ushavadáta conducted his expedition to Malaya or Malabar from the north through the Deccan, shows that the princes of Paithan and of Mahá-Andhra could not have been very powerful. I was strongly inclined to look upon Gautamiputra as the founder of the Sáliváhana era, but the claims of Nahapána appear to be much more probable.

I cannot help pointing out the great similarity of the titles Zathou korano and Zathou vahano to Satakarni and Sataváhana respectively. I am inclined to look upon Kadphises as Sipraka or Sikrapa, the founder of the so-called Ándhra dynasty, Krishna his brother as Kanerki, and Su-hermœus, the predecessor of Kadphises, as Susarman the Kánwa. If

further analogies be required, I may point out the similarity of Athro to A'ndhra, and of Ado to A'dha, also of Athro Pharo to A'ndhrabhrit, the former class of words occurring on the coins of Kadphises and Kanerki, the latter in the Puráñas and inscriptions. The titles Rao Nana Rao on the coins of Kanerki are more common in the Deccan, the former seat of the A'ndhras, than in any other part of India. I am also strongly inclined to look upon the name of Náná Ghát as coming from Nanaia. It contained in a cave or recess, at its top, images of the founder of the Sataváhana dynasty, also of the chief of the Maráthas, of Kumára Sataváhana and Kumáro Hakusiri, and of another Kumára whose name is lost but begins with Bhá. The word Kumáro also occurs in some of the Indo-Scythic coins. The above remarks regarding the founders of the A'ndhra dynasty I offer rather as speculations, with the object of directing attention and inviting discussion, than as the mature results of deep research.

#### "SA'H" OR RUDRA DA'MA INSCRIPTION, JUNAGUR.

##### *Translation.*

To the Perfect One. This Sudarsana lake, being from Garanagara (Girinagara).....to the foot.....(about 13 syllables lost).....constructed in its length, breadth, and height, of unbroken masonry, and strong in all places, so as to rival the hill-region itself.....(4 syllables not well made out) (4 syllables lost).....(2 syllables).....(about 16 syllables lost).....having been.....constructed.....with the causeway and with the nicely reconstructed cornices and parapets.....(9 syllables not well made out).....(about 25 syllables lost).....and other means.....is in an excellent condition.

This work gave way in the 72nd year, Mágasírsha, month, and dark half of the moon, of Rájá Mahá Kshatrapa Rudra Dáman, whose name is oft repeated by the great, the

grandson of Mahákshatrapa Chashṭana of well-accepted (propitious) name.....(about 25 syllables lost).....the son of .....'name lost, with some adjectives).....on account of the rain having poured down heavy showers everywhere, converting the surface of the earth into an ocean, and by the powerful current of the gold-sand\* river Palásini and other rivers of the Urjayata hill, the embankment.....was carried away .....(about 18 syllables lost).....(3 syllables not well made out) .....whilst employing proper devices.....the waters, agitated by a hurricane, destroying the hill-top trees, walls, towers, collection of houses with stories and doors, and whose terrible force was fierce as the deluge, washed down, fallen and dismantled.....(16 syllables lost), stones, shrubs, networks of creepers.....(gave way) down to the bottom of the river.

Through a broken passage of 420 cubits' length, and of the same breadth, and 75 cubits deep, the whole of the water escaped, and converted (the lake) as it were into the (arid) country of Marwar.

Afterwards ? by.....(6 syllables not well made out).....(22 syllables lost).....for it(or this lake).....the Maurya Rájá Chandragupta.....(4 syllables lost).....his (governor ?).....Syena Pushpagupta of Suráshtra† caused to be made.....and by the celebrated Yavana Rájá of Asoka Maurya named Tushaspa having been repaired, he ornamented it with cornice and parapet. By him (Tushaspa) the work was made worthy of the king. Seeing the cornice in the hiatus.....the extensive bridge.....(12 syllables lost).....uninterrupted royal prosperity from his childbirth.....(3 syllables lost, 4 syllables not well made out).....who was wooed by all classes approaching for protection as their king, who except in war had taken the

\* This adjective is applicable to the other rivers by a different grammatical construction.

† "Ráshtriya" only is visible, "su" it is believed is lost. In dramatic phraseology "Ráshtriya" may mean brother-in-law,

true vow never in his life to kill a human being\*.....the killing of an equal and opposing enemy and liberality.....(9 syllables not decipherable.....about 13 syllables lost).....who has shown mercy to those people who were themselves at his feet .....protected by him.....city never afflicted by thieves, serpents, wild animals, and diseases.....the lord of the countries of eastern and western A'karávati (or A'kara and Avanti), Anupadesa, A'nartta, Suráshtra, Asva Kutcha ( or Bharukacha ?), Sauvira, Kukura, Aparánta, Nishada,† &c., conquered by his own might, and the people of which are well affected ; who rooted out the Yaudehyas,‡ who became slaves to jealousy at the renown of his title of hero ; who, without treachery, after twice thoroughly conquering Sátakarni, lord of Dakshinápatha, did not completely destroy him, on account of their near connection, and thus obtained glory.....(one syllable).....(about 8 syllables lost) of great exploits, by the re-establishment of deposed kings, by properly raising his hand (*i.e.*, by gifts,) has repeatedly earned the love of Dharma ; who has secured great renown by his complete study of the theory and practice of the great sciences of grammar, polity, singing, philosophy, &c.; who was skilled in the sciences of (managing) the horse, the elephant, the chariot, the sword, the shield, close fight, &c. (about 9 syllables lost) ; whose attacks on his enemies' army are impetuous and effective ; who is always of a charitable, courteous, and obliging disposition ; who is munificent ; whose treasury overflows with abundance of gold, silver, diamonds, lapis-lazuli (Vardurya), and jewels, acquired by just and proper taxes and duties and tribute ; whose speech is graced by clear, simple, sweet, admirable, and beautiful sentences in prose and poetry (13 syllables lost) ; whose beautiful form

\* Or any living being.

† In the original it is called Nishada.

‡ The Yaudheyas are an old warlike tribe noticed by Pánini, and in all likelihood were the ancestors of the Jadeja Rájputs.

has the best marks and qualifications in gait, height, voice, walk, colour, vigour, strength, &c.; who himself acquired the title of Mahákshatrapa (protector of warriors), who won numerous garlands of flowers in the Svayamvara ceremony of the daughters of kings; by this Mahákshatrapa Rudra Dáman (some syllables not well made out) (for) cows and Brahmans.....(15 syllables lost).....and for the increase of his merit and fame, by gentle means, exacted taxes and forced labour from the people of the city and country, and by a liberal amount of money from his own treasury, in no great length of time, constructed the bridge of three times the length and breadth.....(6 syllables lost)(3 syllables)(10 syllables lost).....caused the most delightful lake (Sudarsanataram) to be made.

On account of the largeness of the gap, the undertaking was forbidden by the king's advisers and executive officers, although possessed of all the qualifications of ministers, and not disinclined to encourage enterprize. The people, losing all hopes of the construction of the bridge, raised woeful cries, when the work was executed by the Palhava minister Suvisákha, the son of Kulaipa, appointed by the king to look after the welfare of the people of towns and districts, and for the protection of the whole of Á'narta and Suráshtra.....who (Suvisákha) by the proper dispensation of justice in temporal and spiritual matters secured the love of the people; who was powerful, patient, active, free from pride, great, unconquerable, the establisher of religious fame, and the increaser of the glories of his master.

#### SKANDAGUPTA'S INSCRIPTION ON THE NORTHERN FACE OF THE JUNAGUR ROCK.

*Translation.*

To the Perfect One. Vishnu, who snatched from Bali for the happiness of Indra that wealth (Sri) which is worthy of

enjoyment by his beloved (devotees), and which was carried off for a long time, who conquered misery, and who is the constant asylum (or light) of that Laxmí whose residence is the lotus, and who is ever victorious, may he be glorious !

Afterwards he.....and who by his own arms obtained glory (parákrama), and who is the most distinguished king of kings, the destroyer of the poison by means of Garuda (king of birds).....contempt, of the pride of kings (kingly serpents) buoyed up (with holding up the hoods of) chivalry and pride.....The asylum of kingly qualities, of great wealth, who, on his father attaining the friendship of Devas (*i. e.*, on his father's death), humbled his enemies by his might, and possessed himself of the earth, which contains the (gems) of the four oceans, and which is skirted by rich countries ; May he, Skandagupta, be glorious....by whose ever-increasing success his enemies in Mlechcha countries, whose pride has been destroyed from the root, were, as it were, conquered, and were ashamed to show their faces.

4. Laxmí, having with a firm mind well considered the causes of good and bad qualities, rejected, one after another, sons of kings, and at last married him herself.

5. Whilst this king was governing the earth no one amongst his subjects departed from the path of duty (dharma), or suffered, or was poor, vicious, miserly, guilty of punishment, or suffering from extreme misery.

6. Having conquered all the world and humbled the pride of his enemies, and having established (rakshakas) protecting officers in all the countries, he began to think intently.

7. What person is there who is at once respectable and far-seeing, humble, and with faith, full of wisdom and memory ; who is endowed with truth, straightforwardness, liberality, moral worth, sweetness, talent, and glory ; who is devoted and attached, manly, and with intellect clear on all religious doctrines ; who is full of gratitude, and devoted to the good of mankind ; and who by righteous means is able to earn wealth,

to preserve and increase it, and to spend it on proper objects?

Who is there qualified best to govern all the districts of Surāshtra amongst all my servants? Yes, I know surely, only Parnadatta is competent to bear the burden.

In this way this king of kings, meditated for successive days and nights, and with firm resolve and earnest entreaty appointed (him) for the good government of the country of Surāshtra.

The Devas obtained rest after appointing Varuna to the west, so the king by appointing Parnadatta to the west felt secure.

His (Parnadatta's) son, full of filial duty, was, as it were, the victorious Parnadatta, divided into a second selfsame spirit, who was brought up as his own (dear) self, whose mind\* was serene, whose form was beautiful as that of Cupid,.....in keeping with the form, beautiful and variegated\*.....whose acts were ever truthful.....and whose face resembled a lotus in the hand of awakened Laxmī ; who was generous to those who submitted to him, and he who was distinguished by the name of Chakrapálita flourished in this world ; popular, who made his father greater by his (good) qualities ; in whom ever dwelt power tempered by mercy, humility, morality, bravery that boasts not, charity, cheerfulness, talent, freedom from debt, restless energy, beauty, contempt of the mean, freedom from pride, courage and generosity.

These various qualities in an eminent degree resided in him without interruption. There is no one in this world to be compared to him in (good) qualities.

He being endowed with all (good) qualities became worthy of example to mankind.

The father (Parnadatta), having recognized these and other greater qualities, himself appointed him (Chakrapálita). He then protected the city better than his predecessors.

\* The poet plays upon the word *atma*, which is repeatedly introduced.

Hé availed himself of the bravery of his two arms, did not depend on others, nor did he cause distress to any from pride but punished the wicked in the town.

The people placed implicit confidence, and studying the character of the people he pleases them as if they were his children, with cheerfulness, sweet conversation, civility, liberality, by the familiarity of social intercourse.....by devotion to Brhmanism, powerful, pure, charitable according to the rules (paths), he enjoyed such pleasures as he could without transgressing wisdom, religion, and prosperity.

\* \* \* \* ; what wonder that he (who was descended) from Parnadatta should be virtuous ? Is warmth ever caused from the moon, which is cool as a collection of pearls and aquatic lotuses ?

Afterwards, when in the course of nature the rainy season arrived after the hot season, it rained copiously and continuously for a long time, by which (the lake) Sudarsana burst (its embankments ?)—When a century of years *plus* thirty passed, in the sixth day of Bhádrapada, at night, counting from the era, of Gupta (Guptasya Kála).....and the rivers of the sea (wives), arising from the Raivata (mountain), and pent up for a long time, and also the Palásiní, shining with its (golden) sands, again as usual proceeded (rolled) towards their lord (the sea), the friendly Urjayata, observing the flow of love on the part of the ocean, and spread, as it were, his river-hands ?

All the people, frightened and crying to one another what to do and how to do, were all night or morning and evening) thrown into still greater consternation.

The Sudarsana (good-looking) lake in this world instantly became ill-looking (was destroyed). Would the Sudarsana, whose appearance was like that of the sea, be ever filled with water ?.....(letters lost).....he being greatly devoted to his father.....having put forward Dharma (which is always) of beneficial sequence to its observers.....for the benefit of the

king and of the city, in a century of Samvatsaras ( years ) plus thirty plus seven ( having passed ).....Chaitra ( month Chaitra).....and whose might is known.....Having pleased the gods by ghee and obeisances, and the twice-born by gold, and similarly the people of the city by entertaining them with proper civility, and also servants and respectable friends by gifts.....On the first day of the first demilunation of the (first) month of the Gríshma season (latter half of summer), in two months, in the best manner, he with great courtesy, and by expending immense wealth, constructed with great effort.....whose total length is 100 cubits, and breadth 68 cubits, height (7 ?) persons (men's height).....

(200 cubits ?).....with well-set stones.....the Sudarsana lake (destined?) to last till the deluge, and also.....and whose bund (setu) is ornamented.....and in which the chakraváka (heron) and the geese.....beautiful water.....as long as the sun and moon.....May the city be prosperous and populous !

May its sins be removed by hundreds of Brahmans singing the Vedas.....century of years, also (may they be saved from) all kinds of evils, and from famine.....the arrangement of the description of the construction of the Sudarsana lake is finished.

The destroyer of the pride of haughty enemies of great fortune, a banner of his race, the lord of the whole earth.....(10 syllables lost).....(4 syllables not well made out).....(14 syllables lost).....the protector of the Dvípa.....the lord of the great.....(4 syllables not well made out).....for the suppression of enemies.....his son endowed with his own qualities, who (son) has offered his soul to the feet of Govinda (Vishnu), by him.....(about 14 syllables lost).....and having been to the lotus-feet of Vishnu.....whom the people of the city have submitted on account of his exploits, by him, with a great expenditure of money and time, who by his prowess has had in submission the people of the city...the holder of the discus....enemy...who is independent, and who for the sake of Brahma-

deva became a man (?) to this discus-holding Vishnu, a temple was constructed by Chakrapálita.....and.....From the (Kāla) era of the Guptas.....a century of years *plus* 38 (having passed).....(about 12 syllables lost)...(7 doubtful syllables).....on the top of the Jayanta mountain, appears as if ruling.....and secondly on the top,.....

*Rudra Dáma's Inscription at Junágur, in Suráshtra.*

(Devanágari Transcript.)

- १ सिद्धम् इदं तटाकं सुदर्शनं गरनगरादापादरम ..... कोपखण्ड-  
स्तारावामोच्चयनिः सत्त्विवज्ञदसर्वं पदोभूत्योत्पर्वत

२ पदप्रतिस्थितिं सुस्तीपदा ..... तरं .....

आतानां छत्रिमेण सेतुवस्त्रोपपत्रं सुप्रतिविहितप्रनाष्टोपरिखात्

३ चिंठिप्रधार्यचत्रिलक्षं .....

नादिभिरल्पयै भैष्महत्यापचये वन्नते तदिदं राज्ञो भैष्माक्षतपस्य सुबृह्णी

४ तनान्नः स्वाभिवष्टनस्य पौत्रं ..... .... उत्तरस्य राज्ञो भैष्माक्षतपस्य  
युक्तभिरभ्यस्तानामो दद्रवान्नोवर्षेऽप्यासप्तितमे

५ मार्गशीर्षवड्लयम ..... ..... परिष्ठिवृष्टिना पञ्जन्ये न  
एकार्णवभूतावाचित् एथिव्यां छत्रायां गिरेष्वजंयतः सुवर्णसिकता

६ प्रताधिनीप्रवृत्तीनां नदीनां अविश्वालोङ्गोऽग्नैः सेतुः ..... ....  
..... यत्प्रात्मानुरूपप्रतीकारमपि गिरिश्विरतस्तटाङ्गालकोपतल्पद्वारशरण्यो-  
भैष्मयविध्वंसिना युग्मिधनसद्वशपरमघोरवैगेन वायुना प्रस्थितसलिलविच्छिप्त-  
अर्जुनीक्षताप ..... .... इष्टदक्षगुल्मलतामतानं आनदीतल-  
मित्युद्घाटितपासीत् चत्वारि हस्तशतानि विंशद्वन्नराण्यायतेन एतावंत्येव  
विक्षीर्णेन

७ धंचसप्तितिहस्तानवगादेन भेदेन निःस्तुतसर्वतोर्यं भद्रधन्वकल्पसतिभ-  
यदुद ..... .... स्थार्थेष्वौर्यस्य राज्ञः चन्द्रशुभ्र ..... .... राष्ट्रिवेष्ण य्येन-  
युध्युम्भेन कारित्युद्गशोकस्य भौर्यस्य ते (न) यवनराजेन त्रुष्णेनाविद्याय

८ प्रनाडीभिरलंकर्तं तत्कारितया च राजानुरूपपक्षतिविधानया तस्मि नू-  
भेदे दृष्ट्या प्रनाड्याविस्तृतसेतु ..... .... नो आगर्भात्यभैष्मविहितसुहृद-  
राजलक्ष्मी ..... .... णायुषतसर्ववर्यैरभिगम्य रक्षणार्थं प्रतिले द्वतेन आप्राणो-  
भैष्मासात्पुरुषवधनिवृत्तिकृत

९ सत्त्वप्रतिज्ञेन अन्यत्वसंचामेष्विभिसुखागत सहृशशब्दुप्रहरणवित्तरण्यत्व-  
विशुण्णरि ..... .... (क)..... तकारुरयेन स्ववभिगतज्ञनपदप्रणियत्ति .....  
(ष) शरण्यादेन दद्याङ्गुष्मगरोगदिभिरुपस्थृपर्वं नगरनिगम (पर)

१० जनपदानां स्वशीर्थं जितानामतुरक्षसर्वमक्षतीनां पूर्वापराकरावन्धनूप-  
नीष्टदानते सुराष्ट्राच्चभृकच्छसौवीरकुञ्जारापरात्तनिष्ठदादीनां समयाणां तत्प्रभा-  
वाद्य ..... कामविषयाणां पतिना सर्वक्षत्राविष्कृतवीरशब्दजातोत्सेका-  
विधेयानां योधेयानां प्रसह्योत्सादकेन दक्षिणापथपतेः सातकर्णे हि रपि निवार्ज-  
नवजित्यावजित्य सम्बन्धावद्वरया अत्युत्सादनात्माप्रयशसामा .....  
प्रविजयेन भृष्टराज्यप्रतिष्ठापनेन यथार्थं हस्तो

११ छ्याजिंताजिंतधमांत्सुरागेण शद्वार्थं गाम्बर्वं व्यायाद्यानां विद्यानां  
महतीनां पारणधारणविज्ञानग्रयोगावाप्तिपुलकौ सिंनातुरगगजरथचर्यासिच-  
र्मनियुक्ताद्या ..... परबलालाववसौष्ठवक्रियेण अहरहृदानमानान

१२। वमानशीलेन स्फुलतज्ज्ञेण यथावत्त्राप्तै वैलिशुक्तभागैः कनकरजतवज्ञ  
वैहुर्यरत्नोपचयविष्णवद्भानकोशेन स्फुटलघुमधुरचित्रकान्तशब्दसमयोदारालक्षत  
गद्यपद्य ..... नप्रमाणमानेनामानस्वरगतिवर्णसारसत्वादिभिः

१३ परमलक्षणार्थं जनैस्तपेतकान्तमूर्तिना स्वशस्विगतमहाच्छवपनाम्ना  
नरेन्द्रकन्यास्यवस्थरानेकमाल्यप्राप्त दाम्ना अहाच्छतपेण रुद्रदाम्ना वेषसहस्राय  
गोत्राच्चा ..... र्यधर्मकीर्तिं दृभृद्यं च अपि दापिताकरविद्मि

१४ प्रणयक्रियाभिः पौरजानपदं जनं स्वस्यात्कोशान्महता धनौषेन अभ-  
तिमहता च कालेन विगुणडठवरविस्तारायामं सेतुं विधाय ..... वितग  
..... रद्देनतरं कारितमिति यस्तित्त्वत्ये

१५ अहाच्छतपस्य मतिसचिवकर्मसचिवैरभात्यगुणसुष्टुतौ रथतिमहत्वा-  
द्रेदस्यानुत्पाहितुखमितिभिः प्रत्याप्त्वातरंभं

१६ एनः सेतुवन्धनैराश्याच्चाहृतासु प्रजासु इहाधिष्ठाने पौरजानपदजनानु-  
यहीर्यं पार्थिवेन छब्दनानामानं सुराष्ट्राणां पालनार्थं नियुक्तेन पहुँचेन कुलैप  
युच्चेजं शामाल्येन सुविशाखेन यथावदर्थवर्षव्यवहारदर्शने रसुरागमभिवर्धयता  
शक्तेन दांतेत चपलेनाविष्कृतेन याहार्येन स्ववितिष्ठताधर्मकीर्तिं यशसि  
भर्तुरभि वर्धयतानुष्टिमिति ।

*Skanda Gupta's Inscription on Northern Face of Rock at Junágar in Suráshtra.*

(Devanágari Transcript.)

१ सिष्म् श्रियसभिमतभोग्यां नैककाकापनीतां विद्यपतिसुखार्थं योवसे-  
राजद्वार कमलनिलयनाथाः शास्त्रं धाम लक्ष्मग्राः;

२ स जयति विजितार्चिर्विष्णुरत्यन्तजिष्णुः तद्बु जयति शश्वत् श्रीपरि-  
क्षिप्तश्चाः स्तुतजनितवीर्योराजराजाधिराजः नरपति

३ भुग्नानां आनदपौत्कणानां प्रतिक्षतिगच्छाजा निर्विषिद्धावकर्ता वृप-  
तिगुणनिकेतः स्तुतश्चाः शुद्धश्चीः चतुर्दशिजरत्नां स्फीतपर्यन्तदेशाभ्

४ अवनिभवनवारि यं शकारात्मसंस्यां पितरि सुरसखित्वं प्राप्नवत्यात्म-  
शक्त्या अपि च जितसिव तेन प्रथयति यशसि यस्म रिपत्रोपि आमूलभजदर्पण-  
निव वदने च्छेष्ट्येषु

५ क्रमेण दुव्या निषुणं प्रधार्य आत्मा च छत्रस्तान् शुणदोषहेत्वं व्यपेत्य  
सर्वान् भवुजेन्द्रपुत्रां लक्ष्मौः स्तु यं वरयांचकार तस्मिन्नपे शासति नैव कश्चिच्च-  
मादपेतो भवुजः प्रजाश्च

६ आर्तो दरिद्रो व्यसनी कदर्यो दण्डो न वा या भृशपौडितः स्तात् एवं  
स जित्वा इयिनौ समयां भग्नादपर्यन् द्विषत्वं छत्रा सर्वेषु देशेषु विधाय गो-  
मृन् सञ्चित्यामास बड्ग्रकारम् स्त्रालोकुरुणो

७ मतिसान्निनीतो भेषास्तुतिभ्यामनपेतभादः सत्यार्जवौदार्थनयोपपत्त्वा-  
मुव्यदाच्चिरत्ययेन्वितव्य भजोत्तुरक्तो वृष्टिषेषशुक्ताः सर्वोपधाभित्वं विशुद्धवृद्धिः  
आच्छण्यभावोपगतान्तरात्मा सर्वस्य लोकस्य हिते प्रटृतः

८ व्यायार्जनेर्थस्य च कः समयः स्त्रादर्जितस्याथय रक्षणे च गोपायित-  
स्यायपि च वृक्षहेतोर्द्वयस्य पात्रप्रतिपादनाय भर्तुषु भृत्येष्वपि संहतेषु यो भे-  
प्रयिष्ठाच्चित्तिलान् सुराङ्गान् आजातमेकः खलु पर्यदत्तो भरस्य तस्मोद्वहने  
समयः

९ एवं विनिचित्वा वृपाधिपेन नैकानहोरात्वरणान् स्वमत्वा यः संनिश्च-  
क्तोर्थतया कश्चित् त् सम्यक् सुराङ्गाऽनिपालनाव नियुज्य देवावस्थां प्रतिष्ठां

स्वस्यायथावन्नानसो वभूवः पूर्वे तरस्यां दिशि पर्णेदर्सं नियुज्य राजाष्ट्रिसां-  
स्वस्याभूत्

१० तस्यात्मजो ह्यात्मजभावयुक्तो द्विवे च चात्मात्मवशेन नीतः सर्वात्मनात्मेव  
च रक्षणीयो नित्यात्मवानात्मजकालरूपः रूपाहुरूपैर्वितैर्विचित्रै नित्यग्रभो  
(दा) न्वितसर्वभावः प्रबृह्षपद्माकरपद्मवद्मो वृष्णां शरणेभ्यः शरणागतानाम्

११ अभवद्विचक्रपालितोभाविति नाम्ना प्रधितः प्रियो अनस्य स्वगुणे-  
रहुपस्त्रैरहात्तः पितरं यच्च विशेषयांचकार ज्ञाना प्रसुत्वं विनयो नम्यच  
शौर्यं विनाशौर्यं ? मं च... चादानसदीनता च दाच्चिरण्यमान्वण्यमनून्यता च  
सौन्दर्यमार्येतरनियहृष्ट अविद्यायोवैर्यं सुदीर्णता च

१२ इत्येवमेतेतिशयेन यज्ञित्वं प्रवासेन गुणावसन्ति न विद्यतेसौ सक-  
लेपि लोके यत्वोपयमातस्य गुणेः क्रियेत च एव कात्मन्त्रं त्रन गुणान्वितत्वात् वभूव  
नृणामुपसानमूर्तः इत्येवमेतानविकानतोन्वांगुणाम्बरीक्ष्य स्वयमेव पित्रा यः  
संक्षियुक्तो नगरस्य रक्षां विशेष्यपूर्वान् प्रचकार सम्यक्

१३ आश्रित्य वौर्यं स्वभजद्वयस्य स्वस्यैव नान्यस्य नरस्य दर्पं नेहेज्यामास  
च कञ्चिदेवभज्जिन् पुरेनैव शशास्तु दुष्टा(न्) विस्तम्भमत्यन्तशशास्त यज्ञिन् काले  
स लोकस्य च नागरेषु यो लालयामास पौरवगान्, पुत्रान् स परीक्ष्य दोषान्  
संरक्षयाच्च प्रकृती वभूव पूर्वं स्त्रिता भाषणामानदानैः

१४ निर्वन्वणान्योन्यच्यहप्रवेशैः सर्वर्षिं तप्रीतिगटहोपचारैः ब्रह्मण्यभावेन  
परेण्युक्तः शक्तः शुचिर्दीनपरो यथावत् प्रायान् सकांचे वियान् सिष्वैवे धर्मार्थं  
योश्चाय्यविरोचनेन (जपननीतेवक्ता) पर्णेदत्त्वात्प्रायवानवकिमस्ति चित्रम् उक्ता  
कलापाम्बुजपद्मशीताच्चन्द्रालिङ्गसुखं भविता कदाचित्

१५ अथक्रमेणाम्बुद्काल आगतेनिदाघकालं प्रविष्टा (तोथदे) ववर्षं तोयं  
वद्धसन्ततं विरं सुदृशं येन विमेदचात्वरात् सम्बल्पराणामविकेशते तु विंशत्ति  
एन्यैरपि तद्विषये (षड्भिः) रेव रात्रौ दिने प्रोष्ठपदस्य षष्ठे गुप्तस्य कालागणनां  
विधाय

१६ इमाश्वरैवतकाहिनिर्गता पलाशिनीयं सिकताविखासिनी सप्तद्र-  
कात्ता: हिरव्यभ्यनोषिता द्रवुः परिं तात्त्वं यथोचितं यथुः अवेक्ष्य वर्षान्मध्यं  
अदे प्रयं भृष्टोदवे रुद्रेन्दतापियेप्सुना अनेकबीरान्तजपुरणशोभितो

१७ नदीमयोऽहस्त इति प्रसारितः विषीद (आना: खलु सर्वेषो) काः कथं कथं कायंभिति प्रवादिनः भियोहि पूर्वापररात्रसुत्थिता विविन्दयाचापि बभूत्-  
खत्सुकाः अपीहलोके सकले सुदर्शनं पुराहि दुर्दर्शनतां गतं च्छात्

१८ अवेच्च साम्भो निवित्त्वादर्शनं सुदर्शनं ... वणगसभूत्वापिलः परोभक्ति-  
भिपि प्रदश्व धर्मं युरोधाय युभात्मवं राज्ञोहिलार्थं नगरस्य चैव सम्बत्वरात्मा-  
भविके शतेत्

१९ लिंश्चिरन्वैरपि सम्भित्व प्र.....खचैत्र ..... आ(आ)यहुज्ञात  
सहायाभावः आज्ञप्रणामैविद्वानयेष्टा धनैदिं जातीनपि तपदित्या पौरांस्तथा-  
स्यच्येयार्हमानैः भवत्यांश्च पूज्यान् सुहृदस्य दानैः

२० दीशस्य भास्यस्य तु पूर्वं प्र.....प्रथमेङ्गि सम्यक् भासह्येनादरवान्  
सभूत्वा धनव्य वत्वा व्ययमप्येयम् आयाचतोऽहस्तशतं समर्थं विस्तारितः प्रष्ठि-  
रथापि चाष्टौ

२१ रुत्सेवकोन्वृष्टुरुषानिस ... लशतहृयस्य बबन्ध यत्वान्नहता(च्छेवान्)  
सुसम्यग्बट्ठितोपलेन ..... सुजातिदुष्टात्रियितं तटाकं सुदर्शनं शाश्वतकल्प-  
कालम्

२२ अपि च सुड्डसेतुप्रान्तनिव्यस्तशोभं रथचरणसमाहृकौञ्जहँसं सधूतं  
विभलसलिल.....सुवित..... वदकं: शशिप्र

२३ नगरस्यपि च भूयाहुङ्गमत्तौरजुङ्गं द्विजवहृशतगीतव्रज्ञानिर्वल्पापं  
शतमपि च समानार्थीतिदुभित्त्वा.....दर्शनतटाकसंखारम्यारचना समाप्ता

२४ इप्पारिदर्पप्रयुदः शथुश्रिवः स्वर्वशकेतोः सकलाबनीपतेः..... ज्यहृभूत  
पुरस्य.....हीपस्य गोप्त्वा भृतां च नेता दण्डान्विना

२५ हिष्पतां दमाथत्तस्याकाजेनात्मसुणान्वितेन गोविन्दपादार्पितजीविते...  
नविष्णोश्च पाइकमले समवाप्य तत्र अर्थव्ययेन

२६ महता भृतां च कालेनात्मप्रभावनतपौरजनेन तेन चक्रं विभर्ति रिपु  
.....विशे ... तस्य स्वतन्त्रविधिकारणमात्मस्य

२७ कारितमवक्रामति चक्रभृतः चक्रपालितेन उद्धुँ वर्षशतेष्टिंश्च युधा-  
नां कालतोव्यतीते.....र्थ...त्यितनवोजयन्ताचलस्य

२८ कुर्वन् प्रभुत्वचित्व भाति परस्य मूर्छिः.....अन्यज्ञ मूर्छनि अ...

## IV.

*Transcript and Translation, with Remarks, of an Inscription  
on a Stone-Pillar at Jasdan, in Káthiwad.*

ON the 15th August 1862, I submitted to the Society a fresh facsimile, transcript, and translation of the so-called “Sáh Inscription” at Junágad; recording the construction of a bridge by Suvisákha, the Persian Governor of Káthiwád, appointed by Rudra Dáma. I then remarked that “Rudra Dáma appears to have been a grandson of Svámi Chashtana, and not his son; the inscription contained the father’s name, but that part is unfortunately completely lost.” Our learned Vice-President, the Honorable Mr. Justice Newton, in his paper “On the Sáh, Gupta, and other Ancient Dynasties of Kattiawar and Guzerat,” read on the 10th September 1863, found this fact “an entirely satisfactory solution of the difficulty” regarding the reading of a coin in which the legend was imperfect, and did not give the name of the Sáh king, but was sufficiently preserved to enable Mr. Newton to make out that the coin was of the father of Mahá Kshatrapa Rudra Dáma.\* I am glad to be enabled to restore the name of Rudra Dáma’s father, lost both in the rock inscription and coin. The young Pandit who copied for me the Junágad inscriptions, has been fortunate enough to meet with a new inscription on the margin of a lake at Jasdan in Káthiwád. For this he is indebted to his own zeal in seconding my efforts, and to the courtesy and intelligence of the Káthi Chief of Jasdan, who induced my Pandit to stop and to visit the pillar. This inscription is brief, but it gives us the names of five Sáh kings, commencing with Svámi Chashtana :—

Rájá Mahákshatrapa Bhadramukha Svámi Chashtana; his son, Rájá Kshatrapa Svámi Jaya Dáma; his son, Rájá Mahák-

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\* Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, January 1862, pp. 4 and 5.

shatrapa.....Rudra Dáma ; his son, Rájá Mahákshatrapa Bhadramukha Svámi Rudra Sinha ; his son, Rájá Mahákshatrapa Svámi Rudra Sena.

The other individuals mentioned in the inscription were in all likelihood officers of the district.

*Transcript in Davanágrí of an Inscription from Jasdán in Káthiwad, giving the names of five Sáh-Kings.*

- १ वर्षे १२७ भाद्रपदवङ्गलस् ५ राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य
- २ भद्रसुखस्य स्वामिचक्षनपुत्रपौत्रस्य राज्ञो च .....स्य
- ३ स्वामिजयदामपुत्रपौत्रस्य राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य च.....
- ४ रुद्रदामपौत्रस्य राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य भद्रसुखस्वामि
- ५ रुद्रसिंहस्य राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामिरुद्रसेनस्य इदं रात्रं
- ६ मानसरगोवसुप्रनाथकपुत्रस्य खरपौत्रस्य भ्रातृभिः उत्त्वितास्त १ । ...

We have also here a confirmation of the correct reading and identification of the unique coin of Rudra Sinha, the son of Rudra Dáma, on which Mr. Newton read his paper before the Society in 1861.\* Mr. Newton has already given us Jaya Dáma's coin, but without his name. I hope to exhibit some clear specimens at the next meeting. To me the most important part of the inscription is the date 127, which is the era in which Rudra Sena or his officers wrote the inscription. In my paper on the Sanskrit numerals, submitted to the Society on the 12th December 1862, I stated in my remarks that the coins of Rudra Dáma's son bore date 104 and upwards, and those of his grandson 140. This inscription is dated evidently in the year 127 of the same era, confirming my reading of the numerals entirely. I then ventured also to express my opinion, that the era was that of Kshaharáta or Phrahates, one of the Arsacidæ, and that it corresponded to the Hindu Sakanripakála, or era of the Saka King. A

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\* Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. VI. p. 15.

more careful study of the inscriptions enables me to furnish also the name of the Saka or Scythian king. That name occurs several times in the Násik, Karlen, and Junir inscriptions, and hitherto I was content, following too implicitly Dr. Stevenson, to look upon Nahapána as the Viceroy of Phrahates, instead of the King himself.

At the next meeting I shall lay before the Society a brief Survey of Indian Chronology from the first century of the Christian era to the twelfth, and in it I propose to discuss more fully the question of this and the other eras.

*Translation of an Inscription from Jasdan in Káthiwad, giving the names of five Sáh-Kings.*

In the year 127 Bhádrapada (month) dark half-7th (day) of the moon, this Satra (tank) of Rájá Mahá Kshatrapa Bhadramukha Svámi Rudræ Sena, the great grandson of the son of Rájá Mahá Kshatrapa Svámi Chashtana ; the grandson of the son of Rájá Ksha(trapa) Svámi Jaya Dáma, the grandson of Rájá Mahá Kshatrapa.....Rudra Dáma, (son of) Rájá Mahá Kshatrapa Bhadra Mukha Svámi Rudra. Of the son of Supra Náthaka of Mánasagotra, the grandson of Khara, with brothers.....(some letters not well made out.)

## V.

*A Brief Survey of Indian Chronology, from the First Century of the Christian Era to the Twelfth.*

THE name of Sandracottus or Sandrocyptus, the Sanskrit Chandragupta, preserved by classical writers, i. e. Justin, Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Quintus Curtius, Plutarch, &c., who describe the events immediately following Alexander's conquests, has been found to be a connecting link between the history of the East and of the West. In the words of Müller :—"The date of Chandragupta is the sheet-anchor of Indian Chronology ;" and to quote the same learned orientalist, "In the history of Indian literature, dates are mostly so

precarious, that a confirmation, even within a century or two, is not to be despised."

The object of this paper is to examine closely the Chronology of Indian history ; and with the light which the numerous inscriptions and coins on this side of India has afforded us, to endeavour to trace with accuracy the exact dates of the various dynasties which have ruled over different parts of India, from the first to the twelfth century of the Christian era.

To a classical writer again we are indebted for other connecting links between the history of the East and of the West. Ptolemy Claudius notices the names of some Indian kings in giving a list of the royal cities of India. Ozene, he tells us, is the capital of Tiastenes, Bathana of Siri Polemeus, Hippocura of Baleocurus, and Malanga of Basaronax.\* That Siri Polemeus may be the same as Pulómávi of the Andhra dynasty of the Puráñas, was guessed at by Wilford and Lassen; and in my paper on the Junágad inscription of Rudra Dáma, or rather of his Governor Suvisákha, I pointed out that Tiastenes was no other than Svámi Chashtana, the grandfather of Rudra Dáma. The Jasdan inscription, discovered last month, gives us the name of Chashvana and of his four lineal descendants ; the last of whom flourished in the year 127 of a certain era. Inscriptions of Padumávi are found at Kárلن, Násik, Nánághát, and the character of the writing closely resembles the inscription of Rudra Dáma's Governor of Suráshtra and Junágad. We have also long and valuable inscriptions, of Gautamiputra, who has hitherto been looked upon as the father of Padumávi, as wrongly stated in the Pauránika lists. Gautamiputra however appears from one of the Násik inscriptions to have been the son of Padumávi : he boasts of ruling over Asvaka, Asmaka, Madrak, Suráshtra, Kukura, Aparta, Anúpa, Vidurbha, A'karávatí, and over the

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\* Basaronax is in all likelihood Vatsa-rája, and Malanga, may be Malaya.

hills Vikpraxavata, Páriyátra, Sahya, Krishnagiri, Mancha, Srísthána, Malaya, Mahendra, Sreshthagirí, and Chakora. But what is worthy of remark, the encomiast calls him the destroyer of Sakas, Yavanas, and Palhavas, and the destroyer of the descendants of Kshaharáta, and the establisher of the glory of the family of Sataváhana. He is also called Satakarní. It is evident from the inscriptions that Padumávi or Pulumávi was not so great a monarch as his son Gautamiputra, whose conquests extended considerably to the north, *i. e.* as far as Cutch and Sindha.

The Junágad inscription of Rudra Dáma's Governor, which, judging by the character of the writing, is contemporaneous, tells us that Rudra Dáma recovered by his own prowess, nearly the same countries as are stated to have been conquered by Gautamiputra, *i. e.* the eastern and western Ákarávatí, Anúpa, Ánarta, Suráshtra, Asvaka, Cacha, Sauvíra, Kukura, Aparánta, Nisadha, &c., and the inscription further adds that Rudra Dáma repeatedly defeated Satakarni, the lord of Dakshinápatha or the southern roads. Chasháana and Padumávi being considered, on the authority of Ptolemy, as contemporaries, Rudra Dáma and Gautamiputra can without violence to chronology be also considered as contemporary monarchs. The inference I draw from the inscription is, that Gautamiputra extended his conquest to the north of the Godavári and the Narmadá as far as Cutch and Sind, and that he soon lost the territories which he had thus conquered by the superior might of Rudra Dáma. Whether Gautamiputra had first conquered Jaya Dáma the father of Rudra Dáma, or Chasháana himself, is not clear; in all likelihood he only conquered territories which had independent governors owing a certain amount of allegiance to the rulers of Ujjayini. Rudra Dáma would appear to have defeated Satakarni or Gautamiputra, and a people called Yodheyas, a warlike tribe from the north. The contemporary existence of Padumávi and Gautamiputra or Satakarni in the south, and of Chasháana,

Jaya Dáma, and Rudra Dáma in the north being satisfactorily established, I shall proceed to examine the dates that should be ascribed to them.

Although we know absolutely nothing of Ptolemy himself, fortunately his date is known. He certainly flourished in A. C. 139 at Alexandria, and survived Antoninus, and therefore was alive in A. C. 161. It is as well to remember that the geographical treatise of Ptolemy was based on an earlier work of Marinus of Tyre, but Marinus himself flourished in the middle of the 2nd century of the Christian era. Allowing a few years for precedence, we should be fully justified in placing Chashána and Padumávi between A. C. 130 and A. C. 150. Padumávi's inscriptions are dated in the 3rd, 6th, 7th, 19th, and 24th years of his reign, and Gautamiputra's Commander-in-Chief's Násik inscription is dated in the 7th year of his own reign. Gautamiputra's northern conquests, however, appear to have been effected whilst his father was living, as they are recorded in an inscription dated in the 19th year of Padumávi's reign. Jaya Dáma's reign was therefore in all probability very short, and Rudra Dáma flourished, it is to be presumed, somewhere about A. C. 170. On the coins of Rudra Dáma's son, I find the date 104, or rather 114, as the best specimens show; and for Rudra Dáma's grandson we have 127 in the Jasdan inscription, and 140 on the coins. Rudra Dáma being placed in A. C. 170, his son Rudra Sinha may well be assumed to have reigned A. C. 190; and as his coins bear the date 114, the only era which would give this result, is the Sakanripakála, which commences 78 years after Christ.

I shall now proceed to show that this Sakanripakála, or era of the Saka-king, is that of Nahapána, in all likelihood a Parthian monarch, and a descendant of Phrahates. There are three inscriptions, at Carlen, Násik, and Junir respectively, which are dated, the Násik in the 42nd and the Junir in the 45th year; the date at Karlen being lost. The inscriptions

begin with the simple words Varshé (in the year). The Jasdan inscription, dated 127, begins exactly in the same way.

One of the Násik inscriptions, which is dated in the 42nd year, is clearly older than those of Padumáví and Gautamiputra, by about 50 years, judging by the alphabet. The inscription states that Ushavadáta, the son of Dinika and the son-in-law of Rájákharáta Kshatrapa Nahapána, being married to his daughter Dakshamitrá, constructed a cave and made magnificent charitable endowments near Násik. Ushavadáta is called a *Saka* in another of the Násik inscriptions. He proceeded by the orders of the "Bhatáraka," i.e., I presume, of Nahapána, to release Uttambhádra Hirudha [Herod?] at Malaya; the Málayas, a people of the southern ghats, fled at his approach, but he compelled them to submit to the Uttambhádra Kshatris. Ushavadáta then retired to Pushkara, in all likelihood the holy place of pilgrimage near Ajmir. As Ushavadáta was a *Saka*, it is proper to assume that Nahapána was of the same tribe, i. e. a Scythian or Parthian. The word Kshaharáta\* was pronounced long ago to resemble Phrahates, one of the Arsacidæ, by Dr. Stevenson, but he supposed Nahapána was a Viceroy of Phrahates; whilst the direct and easy construction of the sentence leads me to interpret the title as meaning King Phrahates Mahákshatrapa Nahapána. Unfortunately the history of the Arsacidæ is not well preserved, and I am unable to decide the exact relationship which Nahapána bore to Pacorus or Artabanus the Fourth. Pacorus is admitted to have ascended the throne A. C. 77, after the death of Artabanus the Fourth, who is, I suppose, the same as Vologeses the First. Is the name Nahapána the same as Vonones? Is it to be presumed that Nahapána entered upon his conquest of India or became independent of Pacorus A. C. 78? His power extended southwards to Mala-

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\* The name is also spelt Khagaráta, which is, I believe, the Mágadhi form of Kshahuráta. The popular name of Khengàra in Kàthiawàd is, presume, derived from Khagaráta.

bar, and he no doubt conquered or displaced the dynasty of Sátaváhana, which ruled for several centuries before at Paithana on the Godávari.

Padumávī is called Navanara Svámī, *i. e.* a new king, and he has also the title of the Svámī of Benákataká. Gautamiputra is also called the Svámī of Benákataká. Benákataká is, I believe, identical with Warangul, the capital of Telingana or Andhra. Some time after the displacement or destruction of the Sátaváhana dynasty by Nahapána, Padumávī from the south-east appears to have advanced towards the north and occupied Paithana ; and his son Gautamiputra made still greater conquests towards the north.

From the Kathá-sarita-ságara it appears that a king named Sátaváhana ruled at Paithana, when Nanda reigned at Pátaliputra, *i. e.* about 325 years before Christ. The poet Gunádhya at the Court of Sátaváhana, collected in "Pisácha Bháshá" a great variety of stories, a Sanskrit abstract of which we have now in the shape of the Kathá-sarita-ságara of Somadeva and Kshemendra. The Nánágháta inscription notices a Kumáro Sátaváhano, evidently a prince reigning in the neighbourhood of Paithana ; this inscription is about 150 years later than those of Asoka ; and as Gautamiputra is praised for re-establishing the glory of the Sátaváhana-dynasty, we may conclude, that princes of this dynasty ruled at Paithana from the 4th century before Christ to the 1st after.\*

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\* Jaina authors have also stories regarding Sátaváhanas, of Paithana. Súdraka is said by Rájashekhar to have been a Brahman Minister of a Sátaváhana, who afterwards bestowed upon his Minister one half of his dominions, for rescuing his queen from danger. Sátaváhana is described by them to have made a collection of Gáthás. Whether the Súdraka of the Mrichchhakatika is this Brahman Minister and warrior I am not yet prepared to say. I possess a copy of 700 Gáthás attributed to Sátaváhana, having love for their subject. They are in mixed Prakrit. I have two Sanskrit commentaries on them. Bána and Dhananjaya have references to Sátaváhana's collection of Gáthás. The following novel names of poets are contain-

The era of Nahapána may therefore be synchronous with his coronation on defeat of a Sátaváhana-king of Paithana. Nahapána does not appear to have had a son, and I presume that the father Chashṭana was a descendant of a son of Dakshimitrá and Ushavadáta. Our learned Vice-President, Mr. Newton, has succeeded in finding a coin of Chashtana, in which Chashtana's father's name appears indistinctly.

The era which corresponds to the so-called Sáliváhana era is the Sakanripakála. It is so called in the oldest grants of the Chálukyas.

Áryabhatá senior, the celebrated Indian astronomer, who states that the earth and not the sun moves, gives the date of his birth corresponding to A. c. 476, in the years of the Kaliyuga. He was a native of Kusumapura, i. e. Pátaliputra, and although he appears to have visited Ujjayiní, he makes no mention of the Sáliváhana or Vikram eras.

The next most eminent astronomer is Varáha Mihira, who, on astronomical grounds, is supposed to have flourished about the middle of the sixth century after Christ. I have lately met with 509 Saka-kála or A. c. 587, as the date of his death, in a commentary by Ámarája, on the Khanda-khádyaka-rávana of Brahmagupta. Varáha Mihira shows some acquaintance with Greek authors, and gives a great many Greek astronomical terms. He informs us that the Sakendra-kála commenced in the year 3179 of the Kaliyuga. In another place he calls the era Saka Bhúpa-kála, both the expressions signifying, era

ed in the work, which is said in some of the Jaina MSS. to have been composed by the assistance of Pandits:—Bodisa, Chulloha, Makarandasena, Amararája, Kumárlila, Srírája, and Bhímasváml. Kúlauátha, the commentator, gives the following additional names:—Kavirája, Vishnudatta, Rati-rája, Paramarasika, Násra, Avarái, Kavva, Usala Jalahradhvasi Kesava. There are allusions frequently to the Godávari, Narmada, Tapti and the Vindhya mountains; one also to the liberality of Vikramáditya, to the yellow or rather brown robes of the Buddhist priests and to Budha. The invocation is to Siva, and there are many allusions to him and Párvati, his consort.

of the Saka-king. Brahmagupta, who wrote in Saka-kála 550 or A. C. 628, speaks of so many years having passed at the "end of Saka."

Bhattotpala, who wrote his commentaries on the works of Varáha Mihira in "Saka" 888, i.e. A. C. 956, explains the expression Sakendra-kála as follows : Saka means king of the Mlechchha tribe, and the time when they were destroyed by Vikramáditya Deva is properly known as Saka.

Bháskaráchárya, who wrote A. D. 1113, gives the years of the Kaliyuga to the "end" or "death of the Saka-king." There is no allusion to the era of Vikramáditya or Sáliváhana in the works of Fahian or Hiouen Thsang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims. They, as Buddhists, reckon from the Nirvána of Buddha.

In an able paper by the Rev. C. Alwis on the Principles of Singalese Chronology,\* he observes :—"The Singalese have four eras by which they date the year of any event. That which is most familiar to the generality of the people is the Sáka Warusa, which is the year of some king of the continent of Asia, whose name was Sáka and who was said to be the head of the royal house of Yavana (Grecian)."

Legendary tales in the south of India regarding Sáliváhana, as given in one of the Mackenzie manuscripts,† state that "Sáliváhana was born in the country of Ayodhyá, in a potter's house under the influence of Athi Sheshan."

Abu Rehan Mahomed Albiruni, the celebrated Arabian astronomer and author, who accompanied Mahmood of Ghazni in his expedition against Somanatha, thus writes of the Saka era :—

"The Saka era, called by the Indians Suka-kála, is pos-

\* Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1856—58, page 184.

† Second Report on the Examination and Restoration of the Mackenzie Manuscripts, by the Rev. William Taylor, page 49.

terior to that of Vikramáditya by 135 years. Saka is the name of a prince who reigned over the countries situated between the Indus and the sea. His residence was in the centre of the empire, in the country named Áryávarta. The Indians cause him to be born in another class than that of the Sakyas ; some pretend that he was a Sudra and a native of the town of Mansoora. There are even some who say that he was not of the Indian race, and that he was born in western countries. The people had much to suffer from despotism until they received aid from the east. Vikramáditya marched against him, put his army to flight, and killed him in the territory of Kuroor, situated between Multán and the castle of Luny. This epoch became celebrated by the joy which the peoples felt at Saka's death, and it was selected for an era, principally by astronomers. On the other hand Vikramáditya received the title *Srī*, on account of the honour which he had acquired. But after all, the interval between the era of Vikramáditya and the death of Saka, proves that the victor was not the celebrated Vikramáditya, but another prince of the same name .”\*

Hemachandra has the following synonyms for Sátaváhana :—Hála, Sáliváhana, and Sáláhana, Runtala, Chauravindha, and Sasso, in the Desí Náma Málá.

We do not meet with the statement that the Saka era commenced with the destruction of the Sakas till the 8th century, and I cannot help thinking that the defeat of the Sakas by Gautamiputra is the event confounded by later writers with the real Saka-kála adopted by Ushavadáta and the Sáh kings. The difference between the Saka-kála, A. C. 78, and the date of the northern conquest of Gautamiputra is about

\* Prinsep's Essays by E. Thomas. Vol. II, p. 168.

Not a single inscription or Copper-plate grant is dated in the Vikrama Samvat before the 11th century of the Christian era. The Vikrama Samvat was brought into use on the revival of Jainism and the establishment of the Anhilpura dynasty, in Gujarat.

60 or 70 years, and it is worthy of observation that a mistake of about 60 years runs through Buddhist chronology up to the 3rd century after Christ (see Turnour's Introduction to the Mahavanso, page 38) ; and I find the same error in the writings of the ablest Jaina author, Hemáchárya. In some cases the Vikrama era is confounded with the Saka-kála, and *vice versa*. The Svetámbara Jainas place the Nirvána of Mahávíra 470 years before the Vikrama era ; the Digambaras 605. The difference, it will be observed is 135, and I have no doubt it has arisen from the latter confounding the two eras, in clumsy attempts at calculating backwards, and then trying to make a correction by the addition of 135 years, which is the difference between the Vikramáditya and Sáliváhana eras.

An inscription in the Kanheri caves, of about the same age as that of Rudra Dáma, mentions the name of a king Saka Sena, who evidently ruled over the Concan. Along with the hordes of the Sakas, Scythians, or Parthians, or perhaps shortly afterwards, came the A'bhiras, of whom I have discovered an inscription at Násik. One of their kings is named Isvarasena, the son of Sivadatta ; judging by the alphabet, Isvarasena appears to have ruled shortly after Rudra Dáma, perhaps in the neighbourhood of Násik. Were the Gáuli kings, in the neighbourhood of Násik, and of Trimbakesvara, the same as the A'bhirá kings? I am inclined to attribute the coin of Isvaradatta to one of the A'bhirá kings. The difference of the letters of Ushavadáta's inscription and that of Rudra Dáma is, as I have stated, about fifty years. We may therefore now classify the Parthian rulers of India as follows :—

Kshaharáta, Mahákshatrapa Nahapána, A.C. 78 ; Ushavadáta, his son-in-law, the son of Diniká, the husband of Dakshamitrá,  $78+45 = \text{A.C. } 123$  ; ..... Svámi ? Tika ; Svámí Chashtana, about A.C. 150, the contemporary of Ptolemy Claudius, at Ujjayiní. His son was Jaya Dáma. His son

Rudra Dáma<sup>1</sup>. Rudra Sinha, son of Rudra Dáma, dated 102, 104, 105, 114; Rudra Sáh, son of Rudra Sinha. 132, 138; Yasa Dáma, son of Dáma Sáh. 15 (?) Dáma Játá Sí, son of Rudra Sáh. 154; Víra Dáma, son of Dáma Sáh. 164; Vijaya Sáh, son of Dáma Sáh. 168, 172; Dáma Játá Sí, son of Dáma Sáh. 178; Rudra Sáh, son of Víra Dáma. 188, 198; Visva Sinha, son of Rudra Sáh. 188, 200; Átri Dáma, son of Rudra Sáh. 210, 214; Visva Sáh, son of Átri Dáma. 217, 225; Rudra Sinha, son of Svámí Jina Dáma. 230; Asa Dáma, son of Rudra Sáh. 238, 240, 23 (?); Svámí Rudra Sáh, son of Svámí Rudra Dáma. 292, 298; Svámí Rudra Sáh, son of Svámí Satya Sáh.

For this arrangement I am indebted to the invaluable researches of Mr. Newton. The numerals are given from my own researches.

The capital of these princes, or at all events of Chashtana, was Ujjayini in Málava, for which valuable piece of information we are indebted to Ptolemy.

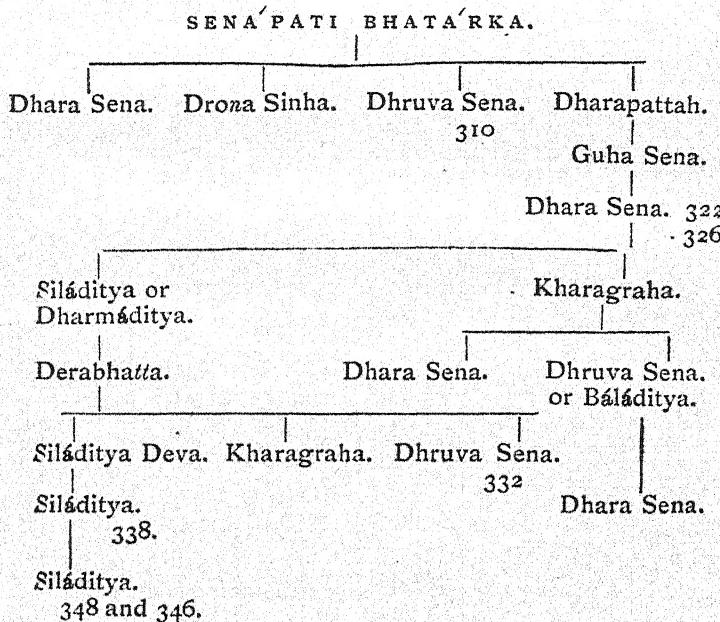
The coins of the so-called Sáh kings come down to 298 of the Sakanripakála, and the era of the Saka-king having been so long and successively adopted, and accurately preserved on coins and inscriptions, became undoubtedly the best known and most prevalent era in India, as well as in Ceylon, Burmah, Báli, Java, and even Japan, to which Buddhism was carried from India in the early centuries of the Christian era.

The Valabhi copper-plate grants are dated from 311 to 348 Samvat. A copper-plate grant in the Society's possession, which has evidently been overlooked up to this time, actually calls the era Sakanripakála, or, to be more precise, it is dated in the fourth century "Samvatsara Satachatushtaye," of the Sakanripakála. I have reason to believe that the grant is old, but there is evidence of its having been forged within 50 years of the last of the Valabhi grants as yet discovered. Whether the grant be genuine or not, the evidence in regard to the name of the era does not materially lose its value, as the forger has

been careful not to give the exact year, but simply to state the century of the era, which we must accept as correct, as this forger may naturally be expected to avoid an error in date, which would vitiate the document more than any other single error.

The year 311 closely following on the latest date on the coins of the Sáh kings, indicates clearly that the Valabhís succeeded the Sáhs. A sentence in the copper-plate, which has hitherto not been translated correctly, shows that they triumphed over a sun-worshipping people (Maitrakas). The Valabhís are generally supposed to have reigned long, but it is clear from the dates, as well as from the son of the minister of one of the early kings having served nearly the last king, that the dynasty did not last more than 40 years.

Exactly two years ago, I gave a correct genealogical table of the Valabhi dynasty, to which, in some instances, I am now enabled to give the dates from the copper-plates :—



The dates tally better than in any of the schemes yet proposed, with the date assigned by Jaina authors to Dhruva Sena, in whose reign the Kalpa-sūtra was publicly read, A. c. 466, at A'nandapura. I was inclined at one time to identify a Dhruvapattah of Valabhī, noticed by Hiouen Thsang as his contemporary, and as the son-in-law of the son of Silāditya or Harshavardhana, with the Dharapattah of the genealogical table of the Valabhis, but it is now clear that Hiouen-Thsang's Dhruvapattah is an entirely different monarch.

The latest date of the Valabhi kings is 348, i. e. A. c. 426, and they appear to me to have been succeeded by Kumāragupta and Skandagupta. Regarding the various errors which have been committed in reading the dates of the Gupta dynasty, it would be waste of time now to dwell upon ; but it is clear from the Junāgad inscription, where the date is given three times, as well as from the Kuhaon pillar inscription, that Skandagupta flourished from 129 to 141 of the "Guptakāla, an era which was established from the foundation of the Gupta dynasty."

Many attempts have been made to decipher and translate correctly the first lines on the Kuhaon pillar, containing the date. The grand source of error has arisen from putting a visarga after the word Sāntे (in the peaceful), the visarga not existing in the original Sāntē, being an adjective qualifying Rājyē. The correct rendering and translation, I submit is :—"In the month of Jyaishṭha, in the year 141, in the peaceful reign of Skandagupta." The Benares copper-plate grants of Sri Hastinah are dated in the 163rd year of the Guptakāla (Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, by Thomas, Vol. II., page 251), and I have no doubt that the date on Toramāra's coins, 187, is from the same era.

When did this era commence ? is a question that cannot be answered with certainty. I am inclined to regard, with Colone Cunningham, A. c. 318, as the commencement of the

Guptakála. I have a Jaina manuscript which is dated in the 772nd year of the Guptakála, but unfortunately the corresponding Vikrama or Sáliváhana's year is not given, nor is it possible at present to ascertain the exact date of the author from other sources. It is remarkable, that A. C. 318 is equal to  $78 + 240$ , i. e. the era commences four cycles of 60 after the Sakanripakála. The principal, and I may say the only authority for the Guptakála, is Albiruni, who says, that the era of the Guptas begins with the 241st year of the era of the Sakas. For my own part, I am not disposed to place implicit reliance on Albiruni, who blunders frequently in his facts and dates; not so much perhaps from want of zeal or ability, as from carelessness and imperfect knowledge of his informants.

We have the following dates for the Gupta kings ;—

Chandragupta I.

Samudragupta.

Chandragupta II. .... 82—93 Guptakála.

Kumáragupta ..... 90+?—121 ,;

Skandagupta ..... 138—141 ,;

Bakragupta.

Devagupta.

Budhagupta ..... 165—180 ,;

The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, who, according to this scheme, flourished about A. C. 400, gives us a long list of contemporary kings, and notices also the Shahi king of Persia, evidently one of the Sassanians. The list is as follows :—

Mahendra of Kosala.

Vyághrarája of Mahákantáraka.

Mandarája of Kauráttaka.

Svámedatta of Mahendrágiri and Kottáraka.

Kátyáyana of Airandapalla.

Vishnu Sápávamukta of Kánchi.

Hastivarman of the race of Nila-rájá.

Ugrasena of Valaka.

Kubera of Devarándhra.

Dhananjaya of Kosthalapura.

Dakshinápatha,  
in Southern  
India.

Rudra-datta.	} of Aéyá-varta.*
Matila.	
Nágadatta.	
Chandravarmá.	
Ganapati.	
Nága.	
Nágasena.	
Achyuta Nandi.	

Balavarmá.

The Valabhi Samvat, if identical, as Albiruni says, with the Guptakála, is certainly not that adopted by the Valabhi princes, as their copper-plate grants are dated, not from 1 to 50, but, as I think, in the Saka-kála from 310 to 348 ; the Valabhi Samvat then, must now be supposed to be the Guptakála introduced into Suráshtra by Kumáragupta† and Skandagupta.

Of about the same age as the inscription of Skandagupta at Junágad, is a copper-plate grant, dug out by the late Dr. James Bird from a tope at Kanheri. This is dated in the 245th year of a reigning dynasty, the name of which is not clearly copied, either in the copies published or in the copper-plate itself. A correct decipherment of the first line of this copper-plate would give us the name of a new dynasty. I read it as follows ;—“Obeisance to the all-knowing : in the 245th year of the reigning dynasty of the Trikútakas, &c.” The rest of the copper-plate is not correctly deciphered by Dr. Stevenson, but admits of no difficulty now.

A country named Trikúta is mentioned in one of the Ajantá inscriptions in connection with Láta and Andhra ; and

\* Journal Bengal A. S. Vol. VI. part II. page 979. The list is, according to my own reading of the inscription, somewhat different from that given by Prinsep.

† Prinsep's Essays, by E. Thomas, Vol. I. page 234.

The Valabhi princes in my opinion were Skandagupta, the date of the last of the Valabhi monarchs being  $348 + 73 = \text{A. C. } 426$ , and that of Kumáragupta  $318 + 97 = \text{A. C. } 415$ .

the dynasty of the Trikútakas which seems to have reigned two centuries and a half, appears to me to be the same as the "Sáh" dynasty.

The Ajantá inscriptions enable me to trace a dynasty of Kailakila Yavanas in Vákátaka, a province between the Bay of Bengal and the Sri Saila hills, south of Hyderabad in the Deccan.\* They appear to have ruled in eastern and central India, shortly after the "Sáh," or to be precise, "Sena," kings, the successors of Rudra Dáma. The dynasty of Vindhyasakti, the chief of the Kailakila Yavanas, according to some of the Puráṇas, may now be classified as follows :—

Vindhyasakti.

Pravara Sena.

Rudra Sena, grandson of Gotami, daughter of the king Bhavanága.

Prithví Sena.

Rudra Sena II.

Pravara Sena II., son of Prabhávatíguptá, the daughter of Mahárájádhiraśája, Sri Deva Gupta.

Deva Sena.

The connection of this family with the Gupta and Nága kings is worthy of note.

Budhagupta is the last of the Guptas whose date has been found. In the same site (Eran) and in nearly the character as the inscription containing Budhagupta's name, is one dated in the first year of Toramána, and the question naturally occurred to me whether he was not identical with the Toramána of Kásmir, mentioned in the Rája-tarangini.

In my Essay on Kálidása, read 11th October 1860, I remarked : "It is not unlikely that this Toramána noticed in the Eran pillar and Boar inscriptions (J. B. A. S. Vol. VII. pages 632 and 633) is the same as the brother of Hiranya, noticed in the 3rd book of the Rája-tarangini."† I then

\* Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. VII., page 53.

† Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, No. XXI. p. 220.

proceeded briefly to give reasons which need not here be repeated. But the best proof that Toramána succeeded Budhagupta is afforded by the numeral attached to the inscription on Varáha's image at Eran, which I am now enabled to read as 100 + something effaced, whilst the coins of Toramána show 180 + some number under ten, the symbol for 100 being effaced. The era of the dates is evidently that of the Gupta-kála. Toramána flourished, therefore, A. C. 498, or rather a little after A. C. 500. Babu Rájendralála Mitra has read an able paper on the same subject,\* and has come independently to the same conclusion.

His son was Pravara Sena, and I have shown in my Essay on Kálidása, that he was the king of Kásmir, when Hiouen-Thsang passed through his territories, both on his entrance into, and departure from India. Regarding this identification Professor Max Müller, in a letter to me, dated May 1st, 1862, reviewing my Essay on Kálidása, observes : "This is a very bold proceeding, for it makes Pravara Sena II. nearly 400 years later than the date assigned to him by Professor Lassen. Yet I am bound to confess, that though the evidence is indirect and circumstantial, it seems to me irresistible."

But a great difficulty now begins to stare me in the face. If all I have stated about the date of Budhagupta, Toramána, and Pravara Sena be correct, the date of the Chinese pilgrim Hiouen-Thsang, A. C. 617—6, is incorrect by about sixty years ; i. e. Hiouen-Thsang must be supposed to have visited India sixty years earlier than what is made out from Chinese chronology. Such an assertion would scarcely obtain credence with the illustrious translator of the Travels of the Buddhist Pilgrims ; but after thinking over the subject for a long time, and taking into consideration the evidence of copper-plate grants, and inscriptions on slabs in

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\* Journal Bengal Asiatic Society, No. III. 1861.

southern India, deciphered by Mr. (now Honourable) Walter Elliot, the conclusion at which I am compelled to arrive is, that Hiouen-Thsang's visit to India is to be antedated by about sixty years. In that case the dates I have assigned in my Essay on Kálidása to the great poet, as also to Harshavikramáditya, Pravara Sena, and Harshavardhana, will have to be shifted backwards to the same extent. I shall now proceed to explain my reasons :—

We meet with grants of the Chálukya dynasty from Sakanripakála 411 downwards. All the facts and dates that have been disclosed by dozens of copper-plate grants found in different parts of India during the last 30 years, have tended to confirm one another; and all doubt regarding Sakakála being the same as the present Sáliváhana era, is removed by a comparison of the dates of some of the later Chálukyas noticed by Muhammadan writers in the years of the Hegira era, with that assigned to them by the copper-plate grants, in terms of the Sakanripakála. Hiouen-Thsang informs us that the king of Maháráshtra, when he visited the country, was named Purakésa, which is no doubt the same as Pulakési of the copper-plate grants. He describes the Marathas as brave and powerful, and that Harshavardhana of Kanoj, whom he calls Siláditya, never succeeded in conquering them. Now according to the copper-plate grants there was a powerful king named Pulakési the 2nd, whose grant is dated 488, or A. C. 566, and who is described as having defeated Sri Harsha,\* the lord of the northern countries. If therefore Pulakési of Maháráshtra and Harshavardhana of Kanoj were contemporaries of Hiouen-Thsang, these two are distinctly indicated in the copper-plate grants, and with the date A. C. 566. Now we have placed the commencement of Toramána's reign about the year A. C. 498, and as his brother Hiranya, who succeeded at the same time to the throne of Kásmír,

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\* Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Oct. 1844, p. 5.

reigned 30 years, and Mátrigupta further reigned nearly five, the commencement of Pravara Sena the second's reign would be A. C. 533, and its end 60 years later, i.e. A. C. 593. As the evidence regarding the existence of Pravara Sena in Kásmir, whilst Hiouen-Thsang was in India, has been pronounced irresistible by so great an authority as Max Müller, and as the date of his reign derived from inscriptions of Budhagupta and Toramána exactly tallies with that obtainable for Hiouen Thsang from the grants of the Chálukyas, it is impossible to admit the correctness of the date assigned to Hiouen-Thsang, and at the same time to present a consistent and correct chronological scheme of any of the Indian dynasties. Granting that Harshavardhana of Kanój flourished A. C. 550, Harshavikramáditya must be placed in from 450 to 500.

## VI.

*The Inroads of the Scythians into India, and the Story of  
Kálakáchárya.*

A SANSKRIT treatise of 10 pages entitled *Kálakáchárya Kathá*, without date, and without the author's name, contains the following story :—

In the town of Dharávása there was a king of the name of Vajra Sinha. His queen's name was Sura Sundari. They had a son named Kálaka Súri (in some MSS. the name is spelt Kálika Súri) and a daughter Sarasvati.

Kálaka was initiated into the Jaina doctrines by Guna Sundara Súri, and Sarasvati was initiated by Kálaka. They went to Avantí or Ujjayiní in Málava. Sarasvatí whilst walking with other Sádhvis, or nuns, outside the city, was seen by Gardabhilla, Rájá of Ujjayini, who became enamoured of her beauty. He caused her to be carried by force into his Antakpura or zenana. Kálakáchárya proceeded to the king, and entreated for the release of his sister, who had vowed perpetual chastity. He appealed to his duty as king

to afford protection against violence and injustice, and had recourse to other arguments, but the king was inexorable and made no reply. Kálakáchárya then complained to the Sangha or congregation, which also interfered and tried in many ways to persuade the king to release the nun. The king paid no heed to the Sangha also. At last Kálakáchárya, in despair, determined on revenge, and to do his utmost to deprive the king and his sons of the throne and all its privileges. He feigned madness, rubbed mud on his body, and commenced wandering through Ujjayini. The old ministers of the king entreated him thereon to release the nun, but without success. Kálaka Sūri, on this, proceeded to the west bank of the Indus. The kings of the country were called Sáhi. He resided at the house of one of the greatest Sáhis. By his skill in astrology he obtained great influence over the Sáhi. One day finding the Sáhi dejected, Kálakáchárya inquired into the cause. The Sáhi replied, "Our King, who is called Sáhina-Sáhi, has written to me to send off my head at once, and a similar order has been sent to 95 other rájás or chiefs." Kálakáchárya advised that they should all join their forces and invade Hindukadesa (India). They gladly adopted the idea, crossed the Sindhu (Indus) and proceeded to Suráshtra, where they halted on account of the rainy season. All the chiefs, hands folded, served Kálakáchárya as their Guru (preceptor.) After the rains, the Guru recommended them to march on Avantí-desa (Málava), and after defeating Rájá Gardabhilla, to divide his kingdom amongst themselves. They pleaded that they had no more of the sinews of war. Kálakáchárya, by a mysterious or magic rite furnished them with gold bricks. The Rájás then beating the Nobata (drum) reached Láta (Broach). They took the Rájás of Láta, named Balamitra and Bhánumitra with them, and appeared on the confines of Avantí-desa (Málava). The Rájá of Avantí proceeded to the threatened spot. The two armies fought with Kunta (spears?)

and bows. Finding his army defeated, he retreated secretly to Visálá-purí (Ujjayiní). The enemy's force thereon laid siege to the city. One day, no fight taking place, the Sáhibhatas (Sáhi warriors) inquired of Kálakáchárya the reason of the cessation of hostilities. Kálakáchárya replied, this day is the 8th of the moon, and the king of Avantí is trying to attain Gardabhbí-vidyá (Gardabhí science). On searching they found the Gardabha, (she-ass) entering a house in the bazar, which fact was communicated to the Guru. At each braying, 108 archers were killed. On this the Guru, who was light and quick of hand, himself approached the ass with bow and arrows, and told the chiefs that when the she-ass opened her mouth, to choke it with their instruments of war. They did accordingly, when the she-ass, having covered Kálakáchárya's head with her solid and liquid product, disappeared. The disappearance of the animal deprived the king Gardabhilla of all energy ; and the Sáhi Rújás, having secured his person, carried him to the feet of Kálakáchárya, when Gardabhilla stood with his looks cast down on the earth. Kálakáchárya reproached him for his evil conduct, and said that he had that day met with the fruit of the tree of the sin of destroying the vows of a religious lady. Leave your evil ways, and embrace virtue yet—declared Kálakáchárya. The king was not pleased with the Muníndra's charge, and having been untied was set at liberty. Sarasvati re-entered on her pure (charitra) course. The Sáhi at whose house Kálakáchárya had put up became the President of the chiefs, and was put in possession of (the city), and the others appropriated to themselves different portions of the country. This is the "Saka-vansá" (Scythian race or dynasty). Kálakáchárya having undergone the rite of confession, delighted the Sangha.

Balamitra and Bhánumitra of Broach were a sister's sons of Kálakáchárya, and at their invitation went there to perform the rites of the "four months" (rainy season). The king,

listening to the beautiful discourses of Kálakáchárya on religion, used to exclaim with delight that the religion of the Jinanáyaka was the best. This caused pain to the Rájá's family priest, a Brahman, whose hatred rose to the highest pitch when silenced by the Guru in disputation regarding "life and lifeless objects." He now cunningly began himself to praise the Guru, and changed the mind of the king. The Guru saw all this, and retired to Prithví Pratishthána (Paithan) in Maráthá desa, where ruled the mighty and the virtuous (Árhat) Sátayána Rájá. One day the king asked in the assembly when the Paryushaná ceremony should be performed. Kálakáchárya said the day will fall on Bhádrapada Sukla Panchami (5th of the bright half of the month Bhádrapada). The Rájá said, on that day is held the festival of Mahendrapújá, which he had to celebrate in accordance with custom. How is it possible to bathe and worship on that day? Therefore the ceremony of the worship of Jinanátha (Prabhávani) paushadhapálana should be performed on the following or 6th day.

Kálakáchárya said this cannot be. The king then replied let the 4th day be appointed. To this proposal of the king the Guru, remembering the prophecy of Jinavíra to that effect, agreed. For the sake of Jinavíra's prophecy, this day ought to be accepted. Finding the súris or priests becoming corrupt, Kálakáchárya left for Svárna Mahípura ( ?), and stopped alone with Ságara Chandra Súri, without allowing any one to know it. Next is a story of Kálakáchárya's having preached to Sakra or Indra, who came in the form of an old Brahman, discoursing on anunigoda (minute organisms), and following a life of piety, went to Svarga (heaven).

In the Bharahesvara Vritti by Subhasílagani, the story of Kálakáchárya is similarly related. Kálakáchárya's father is called a native of Dharáváspara in Magadha desa (Behar). Kálakáchárya was initiated by 'Gunadhara Súri.' Kálakáchárya and his sister are both said to have been initiated by

this Guru. The name of the Saka king is "Sádhan Sinvha." A cup (Kattcholaka) and dagger (Kshuri) from the king was received by the Saka chief whilst sitting in an assembly. The cup he placed on his head out of respect, and, then became dejected. Kálakáchárya asked the reason of the arrival of the cup. The Chief replied that we 96 chiefs have a chief king named "Sádhan Sinvha," who is powerful. When he finds we have a son fit to rule he sends the cup and dagger, when we are expected to cut off our head and transmit it to the great king. Kálakáchárya said, only a fool would cut off his head in this way. What is to be done? said the Saka chief. Kálakáchárya then persuaded the chief and his associates to march with him on the city of Ujjayini, where there are 96 districts.

The halting place in Suráshtra is here said to have been by the side of Dunka Parvata (Dunka hill or Dhonka). Having been provided with gold, they passed through the centre of Gujarat, to the borders of Ujjayini desa. Nothing is said about Balamitra or Bhánumitra of Broach.

Ujjayini is surrounded—the account of the Gardabhi-vidyá is slightly different—, Gardabhilla intended to mount on the ramparts, where he would call aloud, and whoever hears his voice would be killed. Kálakáchárya provided himself with 108 archers, who were skilled in hitting a foe by striking in the direction of the sound. They were to let go their arrows as soon as Kálakáchárya did his. Thus the Gardabhi-vidyá's mouth would be filled with arrows. This would fill her with rage; she would then kick the king, and, otherwise insulting him, abandon him to his fate. All this was accomplished. Kálakáchárya distributed the kingdom amongst the Saka chiefs, Ujjayini itself having been allotted to the one with whom he resided, or says the author, "to his sister's son;" according to some tradition, I suppose. The last part is briefly related. Kálakáchárya took the atonement and entered the priesthood, and Sarasvatí became a nun and attained Syarga.

In a third manuscript in Gujrati the Saka chief to the West of the Indus is called Sáki Sáh. The story of the cup and dagger is given.

In a Mādwādi manuscript of 121 pages, without date, but about 300 years old, Gardabhilla is stated to have had 84 Sámantas or chiefs under him. Balamitra and Bhánumitra were the sons of a sister of Kálakáchárya called Bhánu Siri. The author quotes a Gáthá stating that the first Kálaka Súri was also known as Syámájrūna, and that he flourished 335 years after Mahávira, and that the second Kálaka Súri released Sarasvatí 453 years after Víra. Vikrama flourished 470 years after Víra, and the Sáki Rájya lasted 17 years, when Vikramáditya, having destroyed the Sakas, regained his kingdom. One hundred and thirty-five years afterwards a Saka king again flourished.

Another Mādwādi manuscript by Jinaranga Súri, states that Balamitra was king, and Bhánumitra his minister. The family priest is called Gangádhara. Kálakáchárya is said to have introduced himself to the notice of the "Mogul" chiefs by taking up a ball which had fallen into a well, by joining arrows.

A treatise called Paryushaná Sataka, with commentary, without date or author's name, contains about 1500 verses. The text is Mágadhi, and the commentary Sanskrit. It considers the proper day on which the Paryushaná ceremony should be performed. The story of Kálakáchárya is related in the course of discussion, after collating many manuscripts in which it was previously written. The king of Dharavása was Vajra Sinha, his wife was Sura Sundari; their son Kálaka Kumára. He got himself initiated after being disgusted with the world. Gradually he attained high orders. For releasing his sister, Sarasvatí, and for removing the disfavour into which religious knowledge had fallen, he uprooted Gardabhilla. Another sister's sons were Balamitra and Bhánumitra. The latter was initiated by him into a

religious order and on that account Balamitra was displeased. Kálakáchárya thereon went to Pratishthána pura (Paihan). There, at the request of Sátaváhana, the Paryushaná parva, which was hitherto observed on the 5th, was changed to the 4th of the moon. Indra is here introduced. Gardabhilla's destruction took place 453 years after Víra.

In the Prabhávaka Charitra, says the author, there is a story of Srí Pádalipta Súri. In it, it is stated that 480 years after Víra's Nirvána, Aryá Khaputáchárya flourished. Also that Srimána Sátaváhana, repaired the Tirtha or sacred place (which cannot be made out without having the Prabhávaka Charitra), and there Pádalipta Súri established the standard (dhvaja). At the time king Balamitra, Kálakáchárya's relative, was present—also Khaputáchárya. According to other works Paryushaná Kalpa Churni Nisíthachurni and Thaná tritta (thananga Vritti?) Kálaka Súri, who changed the ceremony to the 4th of the moon, was the relative of Balamitra, and Bhánumitra, and in modern works, as the Sráddha Vidhi Vinischaya, &c., the same is stated. Hence it appears that Khaputáchárya, Gardabhilla, Balamitra, Bhánumitra, existed before and contemporaneously with Vikramáditya.

Every commentary on the Kalpasútra contains a brief story of Kálakáchárya.

In the Prabandha Chintámani of Merutungáchárya, and in the Chaturvinsati Prabandha of Rájasekhara, another celebrity better known in Buddhist works as Nágárjuna, is stated to have been a contemporary of a Sátaváhana and of Pádaliptáchárya.

I trust soon to be able to discuss the age of the various Nágárjunas, in a separate paper. These stories of Kálakáchárya have not the weight of a contemporary document. Still they are old, and the disputes regarding the day of observing the Paryushaná parva have prevailed for centuries, and kept up the tradition of Kálakáchárya having changed

the day from the 5th to the 4th. A third Kálakáchárya is stated to have flourished A. C. 993. And as all these three divide the honour of having changed the ceremonial day, the present stories are clearly written after the eleventh or twelfth century.

The curious custom of a chief of the Sakas or Sáki, being required to cut off his own head on the presentation of a cup and dagger by the great king, appears strange, but it is not stranger than, and has considerable affinity to, the custom, of Hara Kiru, now prevalent amongst the Japanese. Herodotus, in his graphic description of the customs of the Scythians, does not describe this.

Amongst these wild tribes, depending on physical strength for defence against frequent attacks of enemies, there does not appear to have existed that respect and deference for old age which obtains amongst civilized and peaceful nations. According to Onesicritus, the old men were abandoned whilst yet living, to the dogs, who were thence called "buriers of the dead." This statement has, however, been doubted, and is supposed to have originated from the custom even now prevalent among Parsis of submitting a corpse to the gaze of a dog before carrying it to the Tower of Silence. It was also a common custom to allow the dead bodies to be devoured by dogs and vultures.

The Sakas of the Mahábhárata, Puráñas, and other works, and of the rock-inscriptions and copper-plate grants are correctly admitted to represent the people called Scythians by Western classic writers. The population which the Greeks called Scythæ called themselves Scoloti, according to Herodotus. The Persian equivalent to Sythæ was Sakæ. There is no doubt the word is preserved in the Káthi of Kattiawar. The most lucid account of the geographical boundaries of Scythia, and of the various tribes or petty nations included under that name is that given by Professor H. H. Wilson in the Ariana Antiqua. We learn from the

ancient historians of Greece that the Scythians east of the Caspian were called Sakas and Massagetæ, the last probably being the Mahá Jâts or the great Jâts, of whom we have now a large number in the Punjab. According to Strabo the nomads who conquered Bactria from the Greeks were the Asii, Pasiani, Tokhari, and Sakarauli.

Mat-wanlin, on the authority of Chinese historians, states that the Yue-che or Scythians invaded India about B. C. 26, and that they remained in India till A. D. 222. These appear to have been the A'bhiras.

In the time of Ptolemy, the Geographer, a large part of North-Western India was occupied by the Indo-Scythians. In the prophetic chapters of the Purânas, 16 Saka Kings are mentioned along with 8 Yavana Kings, 7 A'bhiras, 10 Gardabillas, &c. In the Nâsik cave inscriptions Ushavadâta, the son-in-law of Nahapâna, is called a Saka, whilst a Saka Sena appears in the Kânheri caves.

Gautamiputra, the son of Padumâvi and King of Dakshinâpatha, or the Deccan, boasts of having destroyed Sakas, Yavanas, and Palervas. This King flourished in my opinion at the end of the 2nd century of the Christian era.

The most prevalent era in India is dated from a Saka King A. C. 78. This king I believe was Kshaharâta Nahapâna. The oldest Sanskrit works and the copper-plate grants are dated in this era. The Vikrama Samvat does not, strange to say, appear to have been adopted till after the 10th century. It is used by the Jainas chiefly, and was first adopted by the kings of Anahilla-pura or Patan, in Gujarat. The so-called Valabhî Samvat was not the era adopted by the Valabhî kings, whose grants are all dated in the Saka era. The Châlukya copper-plate grants and their inscriptions on stone are also dated in the Saka era. An old copper-plate grant of the Châlukyas, dated 394, is published by Professor Dowson, in the Journal Royal Asiatic Society, new series, Vol. I. p. 270. The era is undoubtedly the Saka Kâl. Here, besides the

mistake as to the era, the learned Professor is led into a number of doubts and errors in regard to the correct genealogy of the Chálukyas from confounding the early Pulakesí, with his grandson Pulakesi the second, being respectively the father and the son of Kírttivarmá. I believe that the Wardack inscription is also dated in Saka Nripa Kála, and that the king Hasphani-Matega there mentioned is identical with Visvasphátika of Wilson's Vishnu Purána (p. 479). In a copy of the Váyu Purána in my possession the name is spelt Visvaspháni, which is a Sanskritised modification of Hasphani. In a Jaina work, the abstract of the contents of which will be read at the next meeting, the following kings are mentioned as the successors of Vikrama, who is said to have reigned 60 years :—

1 Vikrama Charitra or Dharmáditya.. 40 years. 2 Bháilla ..... 11 years. 3 Náilla.....14 years. 4 Náhada.....10 years.  
These are all new names.

## VII.

*Merutunga's Therávali ; or Genealogical and Succession Tables, by Merutunga, a Jaina Pandit.*

MERUTUNGA is the name of a Jaina Scholar who flourished in the fifteenth century of the Christian era. I possess copies of four of his works, viz., 1, Prabandha Chintámani, of which Mr. Forbes has made good use in the Rás-Málá, or Annals of Gujarat ; 2, Mahápurushacharitra, containing an account of several very ancient Jaina Sádhus ; 3, Shad-darsana Vichára, containing a brief account of six schools of Philosophy, namely, Jaina, Bauddha, Sánkhya, Jaiminíya, or Mímánsá, Aulukya or Kanáda, and Gautamiya ; 4, a Therávall, or genealogical and succession tables, being comments on some of the old Gáthás containing chronological and historical data. These works are all composed

in Sanskrit, but contain quotations in the Gáthá dialect. I have ten complete Patávalis by different Jaina Súris or Pandits, and portions of others, but none of them comes up to that of Merutunga in historical interest. Merutunga composed the Prabandha Chintámani, as stated at the end of the work, in Samvat 1367, i. e. A. C. 1423, at Vardhamánapura, or Vadvána, in Kátiwád.

The following is the substance of the Patávali —

In the month of Kárktika, 15th of the dark half of the Moon, Sri Vira's Nirvána, or death took place. This is stated in the work Sri Kalpa. An old Gáthá is quoted, stating that on the night when the Arhan Tirthankara Mahávíra died, king Chanda Pradyota of Avantí (Málava) also died. His son Pálaka was inaugurated king of Avantí. Merutunga generally quotes Gáthás or verses in modified Mágadhi as authority for his dates and statements, and explains them in Sanskrit prose.

King Pálaka's reign lasted 60 years ; at that time, in Pátaliputra, Kúnika's son Udáyl, who was childless, was, whilst king, assassinated.\* Thereon Nanda, who was born of a barber prostitute (Ganiká), was inaugurated king after selection by the chief elephant, with five bright ornaments. It is related in the Parisishta Parva (of Hemachandra), "from the Nirvána of Vardhamána-Svámí (i. e. Vira), sixty years having passed, this Nanda became king, and nine Nandas followed one another in succession at Pátalipura, and their reign lasted 155 years," being after Vira 215 ; and it is stated in the Parisishta Parva, that 155 years after the Nirvána of Mahá Vira, Chandragupta became king. This is, continues Merutunga, a subject for consideration ; be-

\* Kaunika or Kúnika, was the son of Srenika, who is styled Bhambhá-sára, and is the same as the Bimbisaro, king of Rájagríha, of the Budhists.

cause, according to the latter statement, there is a deficiency of 60 years, and it is opposed also to other books.

The reign of the Mauryas followed for 108 years. Chandragupta Maurya and others were established in Pálatiputra, by Chánakya, after expelling the ninth (Nanda), being after Víra 323 years. After the rule of the Mauryas, Pushpamitra reigned for 30 years.

Afterwards kings Balamitra and Bhánumitra ruled 60 years. They are different from the kings of the same name at Ujjayiní, who are stated in the Kalpachúrni (a commentary on the Kalpasútra) to have expelled Kálíkáchárya, the establisher of the 4th day Parva (ceremony). Afterwards, for 40 years, was the reign of Nabhováhana. He is in some places called king Naraváhana. This makes 453 years after Víra Nirvána. And in this year Sri Kálíkáchárya, the uprooter of Garddabhilla, was honoured with the title of Súri. After Nabhováhana the rule of the Garddabhilla lasted 152 years, i. e., the rule of the Garddabhilla dynasty—a dynasty being named after the king most famous in it. After Nabhováhana, Garddabhilla ruled at Ujjayiní for 13 years, when Sri Kálíkáchárya, on account of violence offered to his sister Sarasvatí, uprooted Garddabhilla, and established Saka kings in Ujjayiní. They ruled there for 4 years—thus making 17.

Garḍdabhilla's son Vikramádiṭya regained the kingdom of Ujjayiní, and having relieved the debt of the world by means of gold, commenced the Vikrama Samvat era. This (era) was established 512 years after Víra's era, commencing from Várshikadána year\* of Víra.

\* The year of gifts, the one which precedes the establishment of a new era. The king is expected to spend enormous quantities of gold in charity for a whole year. Víra is stated to have done it 42 years before his death.

Vikrama's reign extended over.....	60 years.
His son Vikramacharitra, alias Dharmá-	
ditya, ruled for .....	40 ,,
The next king, Bháilla, reigned for .....	11 ,,
,,              Náilla            „         14 „	
,,              Náhada            „         10 „	
	—
	135 years ;

in whose time the great temple of Sri Mahávíra, named Yaksha Vasati, was built on the top (horn) of Suvarnagiri, near Jalaurapura, by a merchant of (99 lacs) great wealth. Add 17 to the 135 years after Vikrama, you get 152, as said (in a gáthá). The Vikrama Rája Rájya Kála, dynastic year of Vikrama commenced 17 years after Nabhováhana; the Vikrama era, or Rájya Árambha, from the commencement of Vikrama's reign, or the 17th year of Vikrama Rájya Kála, according to Merutunga. Therefore  $152 - 17 = 135$ , is the duration of the Vikrama Kála era. Jina Kála is the duration of the Jina Víra era before the Vikrama Kála (era), being 470 years, the difference between Sri Mahávíra and Vikrama. How was the era of Sri Víra and Vikramáditya calculated? Before the commencement of the reign of Vikrama, Sri Víra's Nirvána took place 470 years; in other words, the reign of Vikrama commenced 470 years after Víra Nirvána.

Pálaka.....	60	Vikramáditya.....	60
Nanda.....	115	Dharmáditya .....	40
Maurya .....	108	Bháilla .....	11
Pushpamitra .....	30	Náilla .....	14
Bala-mitra.....	60	Náhada .....	10
Bhánu-mitra.....	—		—
Nabhováhana.....	40		135
Garddabhilla .....	13		470
	—		—

The Saka era now commenced,—as the saying is, six hundred and five years after Víra Nirvána, commenced the Saka era in Bhárata (India).

Merutunga then proceeds to give the dates of the Patta-pratishthá Kála (inauguration to high office) of the various Sthaviras (Theros, or great priests).

From Srí Víra's Nirvána :—

Sudharma Svámí's accession..... 20 years.

Jambu Svámí's ..... 44 , ,

64

In the Parisishta Parva it is written, Jambu having lived sixty-four years after Víra Nirvána established in his own place, Prabhava of Kátyáyana Gotra, and obtained the indestructible place (died) by the extinction of action.

Prabhava ..... 11

Sayyambhava ..... 23

Yasobhadra ..... 50

Sambhútivijaya..... 8

Bhadra Báhu ..... 14

—  
170

Thus we have 170 years after Víra Nirvána. In the Parisishta Parva it is stated, that from the emancipation of Víra 170 years having passed, Bhadrabáhu went to heaven by Samádhi.

Sthúlabhadra..... 45

i. e. 215 years from Víra's Nirvána.

A'rya Mahágiri ..... 30

A'rya Suhasti..... 46

Guna Sundara ..... 44

At this time (Anunigoda Vyákhyátá) Kálíkáchárya flourished. The story of Indra having come to listen to Kálíkáchárya's discourses on minute organisms is briefly repeated. This Kálíkáchárya is the author of the Prajnyápanápánága Sútra. In the original there is 140, evidently an error in copying, as in the next verse quoted in proof from the Parva 170 are given. He is the 23rd personage from Víra, including the 11 Ganadharas. In the Siddhánta he is called Syámárya.

Kálíkáchárya .....	41
Skandila Súri .....	38

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414

Merutunga then relates Vriddha Sampradáya, *i. e.*, old traditions. Sthúla Bhadra had two disciples, Á'rya Mahágiri and Á'rya Suhasti.

Á'rya Mahágiri's Sákha (branch) is the principal, and it is given in Sthavirávali as follows :—

Balissaha Súri, Sáyi (Sváti,) Sámajjo (Syámárya,) Sandilo (Sándilya,) Jiyadharo (Jita-dhara,) Ajjasamuddo (Á'rya-Samudra,) Mangù (Mangu,) Mandillo (Mandila,) Nágahatthi (Nága-hasti,) Reva i Sinho (Revati-Sinha,) Khandalo (Skandila,) Himavam (Himavána,) Nágajjuno (Nágárjuna,) Govindo (Govinda,) Bhindinno (Bhúta-dinna,) Lohityo (Lauhitya,) Dusagani (Dushya-gani,) Devadhí (Devardhi.)

This Devardhi was the 27th person from Víra. He caused the Siddhántas to be written, that they may not be lost.

The second branch given in the Kalpa-sútra is as follows :—

Ajja Suhatthi (Á'rya Suhasti,) Sutthiya (Susthita,) Indadinno, (Indradinna,) Ajadinno (Á'ryadinna,) Sinho-giri (Sinha-

giri,) Vaira Sámi (Vajra Svámí,) Sopáraga Vaira Seno (Saupáraka Vajra Sena.)

But in these branches Guna Sundara does not appear after Árya Suhasti ; or Skandiláchárya after Syámárya—but Merutunga ventures to put them in, as he saw their names in sacred lists. The same applies to Revatí-mitra. Thirty-six years after Skandila was Revatí-mitra (after him was), Árya Mangu 20 years, being 470 years from Vira Nirvána. After 453 years (from Vira's Nirvána) flourished Kálíka Súri, the destroyer of Garddabhilla. (After him) Áryadharma 24 years. Some think Mangu and Dharma are one and the same individual. According to them Áryadharma's period is 44 years.

Bhadragupta ..... 39 ; Srigupta ..... 15 ; Sri Vajra ..... 36.

Being 584 years from Vira Nirvána. Next Sri Árya-rakshita, 13 years. Pushpamitra, 20 years ; who accurately expounded the Sutrártha. This makes 617 years from Vira. At this time, the Saka Samvatsara commenced. (The copy is defective here, and the Gáthá quoted requires comparison.)

It is usual to meet with the following statement :—

Formerly, in the time of Chandragupta, a famine for 12 years having occurred, Utkrishtalabdhi (compositions of supreme knowledge) and a thousand of minor subjects (prakírnaka) were destroyed (lost). Bahalassa, and Balis-saha are identical persons. In the Sthaviráváli after Árya, Mangu, Áryadharma, Bhadragupta, Vajra Svámí, Árya-rakshita, although produced in a different branch, are introduced, as they were then eminent or chief persons. Revatí Sinha Súri is different from Brahmadvipaka Sinha. In the latter period of Vajra Svámí, a famine of 12 years having occurred, the expounding of the Siddhánta was discontinued. Afterwards in the time of plenty, Skandiláchárya, having assembled the Sangha at Mathurá, recommenced the expounding of the Siddhántas. And this is related (in gáthás) commencing with "Jesiémo anuogo."

In the second branch, Susthita was the fifth of the 12 disciples of Árya Suhasti. From him came Kotika Gana. And in the Kalpasūtra it is stated that Árya Mahágiri of Elávatya Gotra had 8 disciples, from the Thero uttara (1st) to Sadulaka alias Rohagupta (8th). From the last the branch Trairásika was produced, as related in the Kalpasūtra.

In the Ávasyaka Sūtra, the time of the different Ninhavas or schisms is given.

The first schism (Jamáli Ninhava) took place on the 14th day of Vira's obtaining Supreme knowledge.

2nd (Tishya Gupta).....after 16 years ; 3rd (Avyakta)..... after 214 years ; 4th (Samuchchedika)..... after 220 years ; 5th (Ganga)..... after 228 years ; 6th (Rohagupta Trairásika) after 544 years ; 7th (Gosthá Málila)..... 584 years ; 8th (Digambara).....609 years.

If Sadulaka Rohagupta be the disciple of Árya Mahágiri, then how could 544 have elapsed from Vira? Árya Mahágiri was the disciple of Sthúla-bhadra, who flourished, as explained before, 245 years after Vira's emancipation. The disciple (of Árya Mahágiri) could not therefore be placed in 544 after Vira.

To remove this doubt, what has been heard by many is proof. In the same way after the 12 years' famine, Vajra. Svāmi declared to his disciple Vajra Sena—When you get food of the value of a lak there would be plenty. So saying he sent him on his errand. He went to Sopāraga to a merchant named Jinadatta. His wife Isvari offered food of the value of a lak, without poisoning it.\* He declared to them that there would be plenty next day—and stayed with them in comfort. Afterwards he had Indra, Chandra, and Vidyádhara as disciples.

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\* The writer seems to suggest that the merchant's wife intended to give poisoned food to kill the famine-stricken people at once, to save them from inevitably prolonged suffering.

The Chandra Kula (succession) has, like a Ficus tree with a hundred branches, spread with glory to this day, regarding which there is a gāthā :—

“ Kodi gano gana me, Vaira Sáhá Sáhá me,  
Chanda Kulam Kulam me.”

“ Amongst Ganas in Koti-gana, amongst Sákhás is Vajra Sákhá, amongst Kulas is Chandra Kula.”

In the Bh/igu-Kshetra, Árya Khaputáchárya Siddha Sena Prabhávaka (flourished).

Also after Vajra Svámi was Vajra Sena ..... 33 years.

Nág-a-hasti .....	69	,
Revatl-Mitra .....	59	,
Brahma dvípaka Sinha .....	79	,

—  
239 (sic.)

Afterwards Skandila, Himavatsúri, and Nágárjuna ... 78 years.

When twenty-two years passed out of these seventy-eight, the destruction of Valabhi (took place). And it is said “ Pana Sayari Vásasaim tinni Sayáim Aikame una Víkkama Kálá Utao Valahi bhango Samuppanno.”

Three hundred and seventy-five years having passed after Vikrama Kálá, the destruction of Valabhi took place.

After Vikrama, Vajra Svámi flourished 114 years. After Vajra Svámi, Skandila flourished 239 years.

Twenty-two years after him was Valabhi bhanga (destruction), making altogether 375 years. In the same way, 510 years after Vikrama, and 980 years after Vira's death, Devardhi Gani, caused Siddhántas to be written, and at that time, he has stated in the Sri Kalpa :—“ From the death of Sramana Bhagavána Mahávíra, 900 years having passed, in the 80th year of the tenth century the work was composed.”

Thirteen years after this the paryushanā parva was performed on the fourth day of the Moon (by Kślaka Sūri); and the same is stated in a gáthā (quoted).

In 1055 years (occurred) the death of Haribhadra Sūri, as stated in a gáthā (quoted.)

Next Jina-bhadra-kshamā Sramana flourished 65 years. Next Pushpamitra.....60 years, next Sváti Sūri.....75 years.

Who established the fortnightly confession on the 14th of the Moon (gáthā quoted),

Pushpamitra is in some books placed after Sváti Sūri, but that is opposed to the gáthā (quoted). In the principal treatise (not mentioned, but containing the gáthā) it is stated that he obtained the title of Sūri, 1300 years after Víra. But this stands in need of investigation by the well-informed, because it is there stated that after Sváti (Sūri) Sambhútivijaya flourished. Fifty years Mádhara, Sambhúti-gupta 60 years, and Bappa Bhatta Sūri. But of this the best tradition is proof.

From Víra's emancipation 1639 years and from Vikrama 1169 years, having passed, in (the city?) Srí Vidhipaksha Mukhyábhidhána, Árya Rakshita Sūri established the An-chala gaccha. Víra's disciple was Srenika, his son Kúnika, his son Udáyi. After him in Pátaliputra the nine Nandas reigned. Chánakya having expelled them, established Chandragupta. His son was Bindusára, his son Asoka Sri, his son Kunála the blind, his son Samprati-Rája reigned in Ujjayini. His descendant was Garddabhilla. His destroyer was Saka king. Garddabhilla's son Vikramáditya having expelled the Saka established himself there. He established the Samvatsara era 470 years after Víra's Moksha (emancipation). Afterwards, in Samvat 821 Vaisákha Sudha 2, Monday, Srí Vana-Rája, of the Chaudá Vansa (Chaudá or Chowra dynasty) founded Srí Anahillapura. He reigned 60 years. His son Yoga-Rája, reigned 9 years. Next in Sam-

vat 891, Sri Ratnáditya reigned 3 years. Next Vairí-Sinha ruled 11 years.

In Samvat 905, his son Kshema-rája, succeeded and reigned 39 years.

In S. 944, Chámunda-Rája, his son, succeeded and reigned 27 years.

In S. 971, his son Thágħad, succeeded and reigned 27 years.

S. 998, his son Pūada, succeeded and reigned 19 years.

In this way 8 kings of the Chaudá dynasty reigned for 196 years.

S. 1017, Sri Múla-rája (daughter's son), from the Chálukya race, succeeded and reigned 35 years.

1052, his son Vallabha-rája succeeded and reigned 14 years.

1066, his brother Durlabha succeeded and reigned 12 years.

1078, his brother, Nánagila's son, Bhíma-deva, succeeded and reigned 42 years.

1120, his son Sri Karna-deva, succeeded and reigned 30 years.

1150, his son Jayasinha-deva, succeeded and reigned 49 years.

1199, on Kártika Sudha 3, for three complete days inter-regnum (Páduká-rájya) (reign of sandals).

In the same year, on Márga-sirshya-suddha 4, Sri Kumárapála, son of Tribhuvana-pála, son of Deva-pála, son of Kshema-rája, son of Bhíma-deva, reigned till—

1229, Pausha, Sudha 12, i. e. a reign of 30 years, one month and 7 days.

On the same day Ajaya-pála, the son of Mahipála, his brother, succeeded.

1232, Phálguna Sudha 12, after three years and 2 months, Laghu Múla-rája succeeded.

1234, Chaitra Sudha 14, he completed two years, one month, and two days. On that day Bhíma-deva succeeded.

*End of the Therávalí.*

Then followed the Gajjanaka rule (of Mahmud of Ghizni) (a Gáthá is quoted). Next in Samvat 1300, Sri Vira Dhavalá's brother Sri Visálá-deva, succeeded.

1318 Arjuna-deva, 1331 Sáranga-deva, 1335 Laghu Karna, 1360 Mádhava, a Nágara brahman brought the Yavanas.

Sri Kumárapála's minister Báhada, in Samvat 1211, spent two crores, ninety-seven lacs (Rupees 2, 97, 00, 000) in constructing a stone temple.

In Samvat 1371, on account of troubles from the Yavanas (Mahomedans) when the image of Jávadi was lost, a new one was set up by Samaráka.

*Remarks.*

The names and dates given in the beginning of the Therávalí are very important.

Mahávira (the great hero) is the last of the Jaina Tírthankaras.

The Buddhists call Gautama, Mahávíra, and mention Mahákísyapa as his chief and eminent disciple. The Jainas call Kásyapa Mahávíra, and Gautama his chief disciple (Ganadhara). Both Bauddhas and Jainas agree in making Mahávira the friend and spiritual teacher of a king of Rájagríha, the capital of Magadha or Behar, whose name was Srenika or Bhambhására according to the Jainas, and Bimbisaro according to the Buddhists. My remarks regarding these and subsequent kings I reserve for another paper, in which I propose to review the age of Buddha and the history of India before the Christian era, as the Jaina dates differ a good deal from those of the Buddhists and Brahmans.

The particulars of Udáyi's assassination are given by Hémáchárya in the Paríshista Parva. A short but very important

statement in the Theráválli is regarding the origin of the first Nanda. The Buddhist works hitherto published are silent regarding it. The Puráṇas mention him as of Súdra extraction, but the Jaina account of his descent from a barber is similar, though not quite identical, with that given by Diodorus Siculus and Quintus Curtius of the monarch who ruled at Pátaliputra when Alexander the Great invaded the Panjáb. This king was the predecessor of Chandragupta or Sandracottus of the Greeks.

In Prákrita works, the Sakas or Scythians are called Sagas. It appears the Vikrama Samvat is coeval with the defeat of the Sakas by Vikramáditya, but the Saka-nripa-kála, identical with the Sáliváhan era, is coeval with the conquest of Málava, and the Deccan by the Sakas. Saka-Kála, or the era of the Sakas, has been confounded even by indigenous writers, sometimes with the first and sometimes with the second event, leading to a mistake of 135 years in their calculations.

A loose leaf of a Patávali, or succession table, found in the remnants of an old Jaina Library at Broach, after explaining briefly why Kálíkachárya introduced the Sakas, how Vikramáditya expelled them, and established his own era, adds "one hundred and thirty-five years after Vikrama having passed, again the Sakas expelled Vikrama-putra (Vikrama's son or descendant) and conquered the kingdom."

The chronology of the Chaudá (Chapotkata) dynasty, commencing with Vana-rája, differs from that in the Prabandha Chintámani and other lists, both in the order and number of the names of the kings, and the duration of their rule. This naturally raises the question whether the Merutunga of the Theráválli is not different from the author of the Prabandha Chintámani.

The following is a comparative table from the Prabandha

Chintámani, the Kumára-pála Prabandha of Jina Mandanoupádhyáya, and an anonymous Patávali :—

	Merutunga's Prabandha Chintámani.	Jinamandano Upádhyáya's Kumárapála Prabandha, written about 200 years ago.	Patávali. ( )
Vana-rája .....	60	60	60
Yoga-rája .....	35	35	32
Kshema-rája .....	25	25	25
Bhúyada .....	29	29	29
Vairi Sinvha .....	25	25	25
Ratnáditya .....	15	15	15
Sámanta-sinha .....	7	7	7
Múla-rája .....	55	55	55
Chámunda-rája .....	13	13	13
Vallabha-rája .....	6 months	6 months	6 months
Durlabha-rája .....	11·6	11·6	11·6
Bhíma-rája or Bhíma-deva...	* 42	42	42
Karna-deva .....	Not given 49 through fault of copy.	29	29
Jayasinha-deva .....	{	Not Given	48·8·10
Kumárapála .....	31	31	30·8·27
Ajaya-deva or Ajayapála ...	3	.....	3·11·28
Múla-rája .....	2	.....	2·1·24
Bhíma-devarája .....	63	.....	65·2·8
Páduká-rája (interregnium) ..	.....	.....	6 days
Tribhuvana-pála .....	.....	.....	{ 2 months
Visála-deva .....	.....	.....	12 days
Arjuna-deva .....	.....	.....	18·7·11
Sáranga-deva .....	.....	.....	13·7·26
Mlechha-rájya .....	.....	.....	21·8·8

\* In one copy 52 and in the other as Múla.

## VIII.

*Notes on the Age and Works of Hemádri.*

ACCORDING to tradition among the learned, Hemádri was a Bráhman of the Mádhyamdiníya Sákhá of the Sukla Yajur Veda. This is likely to be the truth, as in the Chaturvarga Chintámani, where he compares many texts from the Srutis, Smritis, and Kalpasútras, he mostly quotes those which relate to the Mádhyamdiníya Sákhá. At the present day Brahmans of the Mádhyamdiníya Sákhá prevail in the district where Hemádri was born, viz., the Doulatabad district. Various treatises, professing to be the compositions of Hemádri are in my possession. They are :—

1 Chaturvarga Chintámani. 2 Muktáphala. 3 A commentary on Vagbhata called Á'yur-veda-rasáyana.

The Chaturvarga Chintámani treats of the Dharma Sástra, i. e. of Á'chára (custom or practice), Vyavahára (civil and criminal law), Práyaschitta (penance), Ish्वára (essential ceremonies), Púrta (acts of pious liberality), and Adhyátma Vidyá (ontology).

It is called Chaturvarga Chintámani. The subject of Á'chára and of Ish्वára-púrta-karma is minutely dwelt upon, and the subject of Vyavahára is treated of briefly and incidentally. My copy is not complete, nearly one-half being wanting.

Although it is evident from the writings of this author, as well as from those of others, that there were many treatises of this kind, for the correct interpretation of the Srutis, Smritis, Puráṇas, &c., and although some of them are still extant, still it appears improbable that any of them could have come up to the works of Hemádri either in extent or depth of learning. The Chaturvarga Chintámani is not now met with in a complete form. The author divides it in five parts (*khandas*), viz., 1 Vrata-khanda, 2 Dána-khanda, 3 Tirtha-khanda, 4 Moksha-khanda, 5 Parishesha-khanda. Of these I possess

the first three, and the remaining two are known to me only from being mentioned in the body of the work.

The copy of the Vrata-khanda is about 200 years old, but some of the final leaves are wanting.

The Grantha Sankhyā, or measure by 32 syllables is about 1200. It treats of the various ceremonials or religious observances to be observed in the various seasons, months and days. Although there are several special treatises on the Vratas (religious observances) there are many mentioned by Hemádri which are not found in the others. The authorities in support of the ceremonial observances are of course the Puráṇas, but Hemádri chiefly quotes the Bhavishyapuráṇa.

The copy of the Dána-khanda is about three centuries old. The writing was finished in Samvat 1618, or A. C. 1561. It treats of charitable assignations or gifts, and the ceremonies which should accompany them. The authorities quoted are the Puráṇas, although sometimes the Srutis and Smritis are also quoted. The present popular treatises, Dána Mayùkha and Dána Chandriká and others, do not contain many of the Dánas in Hemádri's treatise.

The Tírtha-khanda (relating to pilgrimages and holy places) has not been found ; neither is the Moksha-khanda (treating of emancipation) procurable.

The Parisesha-khanda is larger than the Vrata and Dána-khanda put together. It is divided into Sráddha-khanda, Kála-khanda, and Pratishíhá-khanda, but probably there are other parts, as there is a tradition that Hemádri has a treatise on the daily (Añhika) ceremonies. A small treatise called Práyaschitta Hemádri is in my collection, but it is very doubtful, from the style, whether it is his composition.

Chaturvarga Chintámani is the name given to this Encyclopedic work, from its embracing the four subjects of Dharma (virtue), Artha (wealth), Káma (wish, pleasure), and Moksha (emancipation).

Hemádri is a well-known name amongst the learned, and stands much in their estimation as that of Mádhava, who both are regarded as two of the pillars of the Dharmásástra.

Mádhava's style is more elegant and refined than that of Hemádri.

To those who have studied the Púrva-mimánsá of Jaimini, the understanding of Hemádri's works is not difficult, but without such aid many portions of the work cannot be properly made out. And as there are now-a-days few Sanskrit Scholars well read in Jaimini, the works of Hemádri also have necessarily fallen into comparative disuse and neglect.

The texts quoted are from the Mantras and Bráhmaṇas of the various Sákhás of the four Vedas—but especially from the Satapatha Śruti, or Bráhmaṇa.

Texts are quoted from the Bráhmaṇas of the Taittiríya Sákhá, and from the current Gopatha-bráhmaṇa of the Átharvana Veda. Few or no treatises quote so many texts from the Kalpasútras, those from the Kátyáyana or Kátiya Sútra of the Vájasaneyi Sákhá of the Súkla Yajur Veda being most abundant. The Maitráyaniya Katha Sútra, Mánava Maitráyaniya Sútra, Apástamba Sútra, Baudhāyana Sútra, Aśvalàyana Sútra, Saunaka Sútra Kupoláda Sútra, Kausika Pranita Sráddha Kalpa Sútra, Baijavápa Grihya Sútra, Saunaka Grihya Sútra, Sánkháyana Grihya Sútra, Chandoga Parisishta, Vájasaneyi Parisishta, Káthaka Grihya Parisishta, Ránáyaníya Sútra, Páraskara Grihya Sútra, Páraskara Sútra, Kátyáyana Sútra, Charakàdhvaryu Sútra, and other Sútras of the four Vedas are quoted. The authors of the Sútras are mostly indicated by the name of the Sútra itself. The Ránáyaníya Sútra is a Kalpa Sútra of the Ránáyaníya Sákhá of the Sáma Veda, but comparatively the greatest are the Kauthumi and the Ránáyaníya Sákhás. The former prevails in Gujarat and the latter in Dravid-desa. The author of the Ránáyaníya Sútra is stated in the work to be the sage

Gobhila. In the same way Kátyáyana is said to have been the author of the Chandoga Parisishta, and the author of the Charakádhvaryu Sútra is Vatsa. The author exhibits greater acquaintance with the Maitráyaníya Sútra, and it is also a fact that the Maitráyaní Brahmans are still to be found in the villages or towns in the neighbourhood of Daulatábád.

The Saunaka, Paippaláda, and Kausika Sútras are of the Sákhás of the Átharvana Veda, and are comparatively scarce. Of the 9 Sákhás of this Veda, only the first two are to be found. The Látyáyana Dráhyáyana Kalpa Sútras, although extant, are not met with in the quotations.

The Commentators on the Kalpa Sútras, such as Deva-svámí, Dhúrta Svámí, Karko-pádhyáya, Jayanta-Svámí, &c., are frequently quoted. To what province Deva Svámí belonged cannot yet be made out. Deva Svámí has a commentary on the Baudháyana Sútra and the Á'svaláyana Grihya Sútra, but whether the same Deva Svámí wrote both is by no means certain. The epithet Svámí indicates the author to have been a native of the Carnatic.

Dhúrta Svámí is a commentator on the A'pastamba Sútra, is as learned, and probably as old, and a native of the same country as Deva Svámí.

Karko-pádhyáya is the author of a splendid commentary on the Kátiya or Kátyáyana Sútra, based on Jaiminiya púrva Mímánsá. It has been published in Germany. Hémádri frequently quotes Karka, and often differs from him. He is sometimes called Bháshyakára.

Jayanta Svámí is a commentator on the Á'svaláyana Grihya Sútra and has probably a commentary on the Á'svaláyana Srauta Sútra.

The names of many Smritis and their authors are given in the Chaturvarga Chintámani. A large number of them are still extant, others are only known by their names.

Medhátithi, the commentator on Manu is frequently quoted. Medhátithi quotes Kumárlila bhatta, and is therefore subsequent to him.

I possess a copy of Medhátithi, written about 300 years ago.

Aparárka is frequently quoted. He appears to have been a commentator on the Yájnyavalkya Smriti, but none of his productions are available. He is quoted by the author of the Smriti Chandriká.

Sankhadhara or Sankha Śridhara is frequently quoted, and as the Pandits would say, is "broken" or proved in places to be in the wrong.

Visvarúpa, Hari-hara, Váma-deva, Govindo-pádhyáya, Trikánda Mandana, Smriti-Mahárnava Krita, Mádhava, and other authors are mentioned.

Visvarúpa is a commentator on Yájnyavalkya's Smriti, and preceded Vijnyánesvara, because the latter notices the commentary of Visvarúpa, as being difficult. Visvarúpa has written a commentary on the theological and speculative works of Sankara's school. He therefore must be placed after the first and great Sankaráchárya, and before Vijnyánesvara.

Mádhava, it is scarcely necessary to add, is different from the learned brother of Sáyana and the liberal Minister of Bukka rájá.

The names of Smriti Mahárnava, Smrityartha Sára, Brihaspati Smriti Tilká, Hárita Smriti Bháshya, and other comparatively modern works occur. Of these, the second only is procurable.

Of the Puráñas and Upa-puráñas quoted, there are several not commonly known, such as the Kálottara (Upapurána) and Samása-sanhítá. Although the Chaturvarga Chintámani treats of the subjects of A'chára, Vyavahára, Práyaschitta, and Ishtapurta Karma, the second subject is

very briefly treated. In the Sráddha-khanda of the Parishesha-khanda, the words Dáya, Riktha, and Samavibhágá are explained ; the rights of possession of Brahmans and others, and the subject of Strídhana is briefly treated. It is quite possible that there were parts of the Parishesha-parva, treating specially and more fully of these and allied subjects.

One fact, however, goes against this supposition. Modern authors do not quote Hemádri on Vyavahára as frequently as on Dharma Sástra.

Hemádri's Commentary on Vágbhata commences with salutation to Vishnu, and states that Hemádri, the author of the Chaturvarga Chintámani, has composed the Commentary on the Ashtánga-hridaya which is the name of Vágbhata's medical treatise. After consulting, and in conformity with the opinions, of Charaka, Hárīta and Susruta, &c., Harichandra has commented on Charaka and Jaijjata on Susruta, and himself (Hemádri) on Vágbhata. The commentary is called A'yurvedarasáyana, and he adds that he is the Mantrí, or minister of Ráma Rája, in possession of Sri-Karna (the seal?). In this commentary are found the names Charaka, Susruta, Bheda, Hárīta, Sangrahakára, Kháranádī, Jaijjata, Bhattáranka, Harichandra, &c. Charaka, Susruta, and Bheda flourished long before Vágbhata, who mentions them.

Harichandra, the Commentator on Charaka, is mentioned by Bánabhatta, in his Harsha-charita, written in the 7th century of the Christian era, where he is called Bhattára Harichandra, whilst Hemádri calls him Bhattáranka Harichandra. The works of Hárīta and Bheda are supposed to exist, but I have as yet failed in procuring them.

Hemádri is the author of a treatise called Muktáphala, in which extracts from the Vágbhata, bearing on the 9 rasas (sentiments), and for the support of Bhakti, or faith,

are taken. From the verses at the beginning and at the end, the treatise appears to have been composed after the Chaturvarga Chintámani, but at the end of each subject the words “iti Vopadeva Pandita Virachite,” or “Pandita Vopadeva Virachite,” or sometimes “Vopadeva Virachite,” are found, showing that Vopadeva was the author of the work. There is a tradition that Vopadeva was patronized by Hemádri, and that works actually composed by him, were out of compliment published as Hemádri’s.

A Vopadeva is the author of a treatise on grammar, called the Mugdha-bodha, and of a Dhátu-pátha, called Kavikalpa-druma, and of a medical treatise of a hundred verses. At the end of the grammatical treatise the following verse is found :—

॥ विज्ञाधनेश्वरक्षात्मेभिषक्कीश्वनंदनः ॥  
॥ बोपदेवश्वकारेदं विप्रोवेदपदास्यदं ॥

“This grammer is composed by Vopadeva, a brahman, the disciple of the Pandit Dhanesvara and son of Vaidya Kesava.”

At the end is the expression “Vopadeva Gosvámí Virachitam, Mugdha-bodha Vyákaranam Samáptam.” From the epithet “Gosvámí,” and the fact of the grammer being extensively adopted in Bengal, it appears that this Vopadeva was a Bengal Brahman, different from the one at the Court of Hemádri. At the end of the hundred verse medical treatise, of which I possess a very corrupt copy, there is a verse, full of clerical errors, from which it may be gleaned that Vopadeva flourished at Sártha (?), where a thousand Brahmans lived, and that he was the son of Dhanesa Kesava. Dhanesa and Kesava appear from the Kavikalpadruma to have been different persons.

There is a commentary on Bhāskaráchárya’s Lilávati by Vopadeva, the son of Bhíma deva.

This is probably the Vopadeva who flourished at the Court of Hemādri, differing from the author of the Mugdha-bodha.

The verses at the commencement of the Chaturvarga Chintāmani are full of exaggerated praise of Hemādri's learning, and especially his liberality, and it is clear these could not have been composed by himself.

There is a tradition also that a Pandit named Vopadeva was the real author of the most popular of the Purāṇas, the Bhāgavata. If there was such a Vopadeva, he must have flourished before the time of Hemādri, because in the Vrata, Dāna, and Kāla Khandas, verses are quoted from the Bhāgavata, and the Bhāgavata itself is recommended in the chapter on gifts to be offered as a gift. That the Bhāgavata so recommended was the Vaishnava Bhāgavata, and not the Devī Bhāgavata, appears from the fact of its Grantha Sankhyā being mentioned as 18,000. The day on which it should be given is Bhādrapada Pūrnimā, which is the day also recommended in the Vaishnava Bhāgavata. There is also a tradition that a commentary by Hemādri on a commentary of the Bhāgavata is extant.

In the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. V. 1839, pages 178—188, there are two copper-plate grants published by Mr. Wathen, dated Saka 1212 (A. C. 1291) and Saka 1194 (A. C. 1273). They contain the following facts. In the renowned Yadu race was Rājā Bhillum, After his death Jaitra-pāla succeeded. To him his son Singhana succeeded. Next came Krishna, next his younger brother Mahādeva. He was succeeded by Rāmachandra-Deva, the son of Rājā Krishna. This Rāmachandra or Rāmadeva defeated the kings of Telingana, Gurjar, and Mālava. Rāya Nāráyana, Rāya Pitāmaha, Dvārávati parividha, were his titles. His minister was Hemādri (Journal R. A. Society, Vol. V. p. 186.) This is the Rāmadeva Jādava of Devagiri, who succumbed to the power of the Mahomedans.

Whilst Hemádri was minister, there flourished Achyuta Náyaka, the son of Mudhugi, descended from Jallana of Gautama Gotra and of the Sarviya family title. He had the titles *Mandalika Pitámaha*, *Mandalika Bhára Sankhara*, *Mandalika Dhádi tadaka*, *Paschiráya Vibháda*, and was a contemporary of Rámachandra. He gave a village of the name of Vaulá. In an inscription on a stone slab at Patan at Chálisgam, published by me in the Journal Royal Asiatic Society 1864, the Yádava Rájás Bhillum, Jaitrapála, and Singhana are mentioned, and the date of that inscription (*Saka* 1128 or A. C. 1206) is perfectly compatible with that of the copper-plate grants.

At the commencement of the *Vrata-khanda*, the genealogy of kings given by Hemádri is as follows:—In the Yadu race, descended from the Soma Vansa (lunar race) was Rájá Bhillum, from him was Jaitra-pála, next was Singhana deva, next was Jaigáki (Jaitra-pála). He had two sons, Krishna and Mahádeva. In the reign of Mahádeva, Hemádri, whilst a minister, was in possession of all the regal powers? The capital was Devagiri in Setuna-desa, which I suppose was the ancient name of the Daulatábád district. He gives his own genealogy as follows:—

In the Vatsa-gotra (Vatsa family) Vásudeva, a very learned Brahman, was born; from him was Káma deva, from him was Hemádri Súri.

The genealogy given in the *Parishesha-khanda* is as follows:—Singhana, Jaitra-pála, Mahádeva.

His own genealogy—Vámana, from him Vásudeva, from him was Kámadeva, and from him was Hemádri.

Hemádri flourished at the end of the twelfth and commencement of the thirteenth century of the Christian era.

## IX.

*Note on Mukunda-Rája, the oldest Marátha Author.*

MUKUNDA-RAJÁ is the author of three works : Viveka-Sindhu, Paramámrita, and Múlasthamba. Of these the first two are on the unity of life, a metaphysical Pantheistic work, the last is a description and praise of Siva.

Mukunda-rája has given the succession of his gurus, in the latter part of the Viveka-Sindhu, in the 11th chapter, from the 34th to 45th or concluding verse ; Adínaátha, Hari-nátha, Raghunátha.

Harinátha was born in Ambánagar, on the banks of the Bána-gangá. This appears to be Jogaiché Ambé on the Bána-gangá, a tributary of the Godávarí. He was a brahman of the Mádhyamániya Sákhá, the family title was Chámpé-gorata. His father got him to study the Vedas and Sástras. When 12 years old, having observed the great Pásupata or Siva rites he propitiated Siva. He propitiated Dattátreya, Munisvara and Guru Sankara on the banks of the Gautamí (Godávarí). At the time of a sacrifice (Homa) he saw, says Mukundarája, Siva himself. He had the blessing from Siva that whoever received his instructions and moral advice would be a dhyáni. His disciples were many, such as Surendra-bháratí. At the head of them was Rámachandra. He instructed many disciples, amongst others Mukundarája.

In the Viveka-Sindhu Mukunda supports the belief of the identity of souls with the divine soul. He often refers to the Sáñkhya philosophical doctrines ; the Bhágavata Gitá is mentioned in many places, and the ten principal Upanishads are sometimes quoted. Maráthi words, now only met with in particular parts of Maháráshtra, occur, such as Vachava (may go), an expression now used in Goa and its neighbourhood only. He practised Rája-Yoga.

About the middle of the Viveka-Sindhu, is the following in ovi metre :—

॥ वृसिंहाचा बद्धात्र त्याचा कुमार जैतपाल ॥  
॥ तेणे करविला च्छा रोल घंथरचवेचा ॥

Of Nisinha was Ballala, his son was Jaita-pala, he caused this kind of treatise to be composed. The Ballala here mentioned is undoubtedly the same as Bhillam, and Jaita-pala the same as Jaitra-pala.

Various stories regarding Mukunda-raja and Jaitra-pala-raja are current. Mukunda-raja flourished about the end of the 12th century of the Christian era.

I have made unceasing efforts to discover works in Marathi, or even stray poetic pieces, older than the works of Mukunda-Raja, but without success.

## X.

*Transcript and Translation of an Inscription discovered by Mr. G. W. TERRY in the temple of A'mra-Natha, near Kalyana; with Remarks.*

*Transcript.*

१. शकसम्बत् ७८२ जेठ हुधू ई सुके समधिगताशेष पञ्च महाशब्द  
महामङ्गलेश्वरादि पट्टिरपुदैत्यदलनदामोदर
२. सरण्यागतवज्रुपंजरीत्याद्विसमस्तराजाविविराजमानमहामङ्गलेश्वर श्री-  
महाम्बाणिराजदेवः एतत्समस्तजात्यविताभव
३. समुद्रमनमहामात्य श्रीविगपयस्तथा महाप्रजनः श्रोनागणैयस्तथाले-  
खसम्बिवियहिक श्रीवैकरेयस्तथा महासांविवियहिक श्रीजग
४. लैयस्तथा भारद्वागार ग्रथम सप्तमिसेन महादेवय स्तथा हितीव खुल-  
भाइलेयादिप्रधा-श्रीकरणाद्विहितकवस्थाणविजयराज्यद्वृत्तश्च

५. महाराजशुद्धामाल्लराजशुद्धनीविकल्पसिद्भक्ताण्या पितृयकमङ्गासाम्  
त श्रीता—वरा—कैकारापकेनभूत्वा श्रीचाम्बनाथदेवकु  
६. लं—पाष शा—पभागसुच्चार तथा उदन्यां महामण्डलेश्वर  
समवित्तराजदेवस्य भवनं संपादितं

*Translation.*

In Saka Samvat 782 (A. C. 860), the ninth day of the bright half, of the month Jyaishtha, Friday, (during the reign of) the Mahámandalesvara Sri Mahamávirájadeva, who has obtained the title of Mahámandalesvara, (also) the five great insignia of Royalty, &c., who is a Dámodara (Vishnu) in punishing his enemies the Daityas, a cage of adamant to those seeking his protection, &c., and resplendent amongst the row of rájás, whose various officers were the large-minded Mahámátya (Chief Minister), Sri Vigapaya, also Maháptajana (the chief relative), Sri Náganaiya, also Lekha-Sandhi-Vigrahika (Secretary), Sri Veka-reya, also Mahá-Sandhi-Vigrahika Sri Jágalaiya, also Bhàndágára prathama (Chief Treasurer), Sapamisena, also the Second (Treasurer) Mahádevaya, also Khamabháileya and other ministers. Whilst under their auspices the administration of the kingdom was successful and beneficent, there flourished Sri Mahárája Guru, also Sri Bhallagha Rája Guru, and also Sri Vikalla-Sida-Bhasmaka (three letters lost) and they, at the desire of Mahá Sámanta Sri, having undertaken the construction, the temple of Sri Ámra-Nátha (two letters lost) was restored in stone. The house of Mahámandalesvara of Udanyá? Samachhitta Rája Deva was (also) constructed.

*Remarks.*

The temple of Ámra-Nátha is situated about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles south-east of Kalyána. It has lately been well described by Mr. Burgess, a learned member of our Society, in the *Times of India*.

I have taken notes of the temple myself, but as I am engaged in a more important work, I regret I must put off presenting the Society with my own description of the temple and its mythological remains. I shall only make a few remarks on the inscription which was discovered in the temple by Mr. G. W. Terry. I have examined the original, and copied from it, and I have also consulted an excellent Plaster of Paris cast of it taken by Mr. Terry. The inscription is 3 feet and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches long and  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches broad. It consists of six lines, written in Sanskrit, in Saka Samvat 782, i. e. A. C. 860.

The inscription clearly shows that the correct name of the temple, or rather of the Linga worshipped in it, is A'mra-Nátha, evidently derived from A'mra, a mango. There is a mango tree near the ruined temple, and large topes of mango trees at the neighbouring village about a mile distant.

From the expression in the inscription "the temple of A'mra-Nátha was restored in stone," it appears that an older temple existed on the spot. The correctness of this inference is borne out by the fact that several stones in the body of the dome of the temple have been discovered by Mr. Terry with old Devanágari letters, forming portions of an older inscription. They are insufficient to enable me to make out anything from them. The form of the letters, however, shows that they are about a century older than the present inscription.

The king Mahámañalesvara Mahamyáni-rája-deva appears to me to have been of the Yádava family, from a comparison of his titles with those of a Yádava prince, a copy of whose copper-plate grant, found in Bassein, dated Saka 991, is in my possession. The names of the minister, &c. of both end also in aiya.

The place Udanyá, indicated in the inscription, was very likely a Mahála called Oudani, or some similar name.

## XI.

*Brief Notes on Hemachandra or Hemáchárya.*

THE materials for a life of Hemáchárya may be gleaned from the Kumára-pála-charitra, Kumára-pála-prabandha, Prabandha-chintámani, Rishi-mandala-vritti of Jina Bhadra Súri and other Jaina works.

The Kumára-pála-prabandha contains the greatest amount of information, sufficient for a volume, but I shall content myself on the occasion with a brief résumé.

In the town of Dhunduka, amongst the Modha Vánias, there was a *Sreshthi* (Seth or merchant) called Cháchiga, whose wife was named Cháhiní, or Páhini. She gave birth to a son on the full moon of Kártika, Samvat 1145 (A. C. 1088), when a heavenly voice proclaimed that this prodigy would be a promoter of the Jaina religion, like Jina himself. The father, after celebrating the child's birth with great rejoicings, named him Chángadeva. When the child was five years old, a Jaina Pandit (Devendra) arrived with his congregation at the house of Cháchiga, who happened to be absent. His wife Páhini, however, performed all the duties of hospitality to the Sangha or congregation, which requested her to devote her son to the religious order of ascetics or Yatis. She was placed in great difficulty and distress. If she were to consent to the proposal, the father of the child was not at hand : to refuse would have been an insult to the Sangha. After mature consideration, she resolved to offer the child, and placed her son Chángadeva at the feet of the Guru Devendra Súri. The child, on being questioned, consented to accept Díkshá, or orders. He was taken to various places of pilgrimage, and lastly to Karnávati. There Devendra placed Chángadeva at the house of Udayana Mantri.

Cháchiga, the father, on returning home heard of the destination of his son, and resolved to eat nothing till he

saw his child. He came to Devendra Sūri at Karnāvatī. Hearing the Guru's religious discourse he became delighted, and afterwards ate at the house of Udayana Mantri. Udayana having placed Chāngadeva on the thigh of Chāchiga, gave him presents of three cloths and three lacs of money. Chāchiga, filled with delight, exclaimed—"You have offered three lacs, and it is worthy of your liberality. Your unparalleled faith is the highest reward for my child, and on this account the son is offered without any recompense. Udayana was pleased, and declared that if the child were offered to the Guru he would attain a position highly revered. "Do what thou thinkest best," said Udayana. Chāchiga consented, and the child was handed over to Devendra, who passed a eulogy on Chāchiga, and initiated Chāngadeva at once into the mendicant order.

On this occasion Udayana Mantri held a grand festival, and gave the child the title of Somadeva Muni.

The *Sreshthī* (merchant) on hearing this, caused a heap of coals to be handled by the child, and it all turned into gold, the guardian spirit having disappeared at the same time. The Sangha (congregation) as well as the merchant were filled with surprise, and ever since Somadeva was styled Hemachandra, Hema signifying gold.

I have no doubt this story is, like many others, an after invention of the Jaina priests, to account for the change of name from Somadeva to Hemachandra. Stories founded on fanciful interpretations of the words or roots composing a name are very common in Jaina works. Hemachandra was highly honoured at the court of Siddha Rāja and Kumāra-pāla, the Solanki or Chālukya king of Anahila-pura Pattan in Gujarat. Kumāra-pāla in particular was proud to consider himself his humble and obedient disciple. By the advice of Hemachandra, Kumāra-pāla encouraged Jainism, and ordered his subjects to abstain from the destruction of animal life, and from the use of meat as food.

He constructed 1,400 Viháras. Hemachandra thoroughly understood the art of pleasing his patron king. Whilst he steadily kept in view the promotion of Jaina doctrines, he was politic enough to yield on many occasions to the prejudices of the king, or of persons of the Brahmanical faith, having great influence with the king and people. Hemachandra is the author of a variety of standard works, as Dhátupáráyana, Siddha-haima-sabdánusásana, Prákrita-sabdánusásana, Dvyá-sraya-kávya, Abhidhána-chintámani with gloss, Anekártha-náma-málá with gloss, Desí-náma-málá with gloss, Trishashti-saláks, Purusha-charita, Parishtaparva, Adhyátmopanishat with commentary, Chhandánusásana, Alankára-chúdámani, and two or three others in Sanskrit and Prákrita. My learned friend Dr. Bühler has a copy of a Nirghantu by Hemáchárya, where the characters of the various vegetable articles of the *Materia Medica* are better described than in other Nirghantus.

The Jainas may justly boast of a long list of learned and pious heirarchs. Yet in this galaxy of names Hemachandra may truly be said to shine as the most brilliant star. In the Kumára-pála-prabandha, Kumára-pála-charitra, Rishi-mandala-vritti and Prabandha-chintámani, there are long stories given regarding Kumára-pála and Hemachandra. Many of these are gross exaggerations, and incredible. Leaving them aside, I have given a brief outline of such as appear to be worthy of credibility.

Hemachandra was born on the full moon of Kártika, Samvat 1145 (A.C. 1088). In Samvat 1154 (A. C. 1097) he was initiated into the priestly orders ; in 1166 (A. C. 1109) he obtained the degree or title of Súri, and died in Samvat 1229 (A. C. 1172), at the age of 84.

## XII.

*Brief Notes on Mádhava and Sáyana.*

MA'DHAVA AND SA'YANA are now best known to European scholars as the authors of the learned commentary on the *Rig-veda*, of which Max Müller has published a magnificent edition. Mádhava Mádhavárya, Mádhaváchárya, or Mádhavámátya, are the names of an illustrious scholar, who flourished in the fourteenth century of the Christian era at Vijayánagara (recently Golconda) on the banks of the Tungabhadrá in the Carnatic desa. In this city Sri Bukka rája of the Yadu-vansa, reigned. Mádhava was the rája's minister, and accordingly he sometimes styles himself Mádhavámátya. Mádhava also was the rája's Kula-guru, or family preceptor, and on this as well as on account of his great learning he is called Mádhaváchárya, or Mádhavárya. There are many works professing to be his compositions. Some of these were written with the assistance of his younger brother Sáyana. The Bháshya (commentary) on the *Rig-veda*, on the Aitareya-bráhmaṇa, and on the Taittiríya Sanhitá, were joint productions with Sáyana. All these are styled by Mádhava Vedárthaprakásá. At the end of each adhyáya (chapter) of the Bháshya of the Sanhitás the expression occurs "iti Sáyanáchárya Virachite Mádhaviye Vedárthaprakásé," i. e., "the end of the chapter of the Vedárthaprakásá (commentary) of Mádhava, composed by Sáyanáchárya." With the exception of the Bháshya of the Aitareya-bráhmaṇa, all the other above-mentioned Bháshyas or commentaries, are published.

The word Sáyana is spelt by the Calcutta Pandits with a soft *n*, whilst Max Müller spells it with a hard *n*, with which Sáyana's countrymen would agree.

Mádhava has a tiká or commentary on the Paráśara Smrīti, the chief guide in the Kali age in regard to the Dharma Sástra. It is superior to that of Nanda Pandit.

A work named Jaiminīya-nyāya-ratnādhikarana-mālā is also a production of Mādhava, with a commentary by himself to facilitate the understanding of the Jaiminīya-pūrva-mimānsā.

Similarly another work on the Uttara-mimānsā, with a commentary, has been styled Vedāntādhikarana-ratna-mālā. This follows the order of the Vyāsa-sūtra.

Mādhava in his style is at once learned and deep, yet simple and pleasing. Mādhava's Sankara-vijaya in praise of the success or glory of the great Sankarāchārya, is an excellent poetical composition, although it is unsafe as a truthful biography. The work is called Sankara-vijaya-dindini. In it Mādhava calls himself Abhinava Kālidāsa, or the new Kālidāsa, a title not undeserved.

Mādhava's "Kāla Mādhava" is a treatise for the calculations of the Hindū Calendar.

A'chārya Mādhava relates the practices of Brahmans.

Vyavahāra Mādhava treats of Law. Dhātuvṛitti is a large treatise relating to grammar, but I do not possess a copy, and cannot say which Mādhava is the author of it. Bhattoji Dixita and other modern authors quote Mādhava in the Siddhānta Kaumudi as authority, sometimes also for expressing their dissent. These quotations are in all likelihood from the author of the Dhātuvṛitti. Mādhava has composed also the Sarva-darsana-sangraha, published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*.

In this he clearly enunciates the opinions held by the various sects of Hindu philosophers.

In all his works he gives some information regarding himself. In the beginning of the commentary on the Parāsara Smṛiti, after praising Bukka or Bukkana rājā, and stating that he was his mantri or minister, he gives Śrīmatī as his mother's name, and Māyana as his father's, and also states that Sāyana and Bhogaṇātha were his uterine brothers. He further adds that he was of the Yajusha Sākhā, Baudh-

háyana Sútra and of the Bháradvája Gotra. The information is not so minute in the other works, but at the end of each chapter occurs the following long sentence :—

इति श्रीराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरमार्गप्रवर्तकन्नीरवुक्षराजसाङ्गापालकेण  
वाधवामाल्येन विरचिते वेदाधंगकारे ।

From this it appears that this commentary was his own production, unassisted by Sáyana. Kála Mádhava, A'chára Mádhava, and Vyavahára Mádhava do not mention Sáyana's name, and are therefore the sole productions of Mádhava. I have an independent work by Sáyana, called Yajnya-tantra-sudhá-nidhi.

In the beginning of the Sarva-darsana-sangraha, in the little information that Mádhava gives regarding himself, he tells us that his preceptor was Sarvajnya Vishnu, and qualifies himself Sáyana Mádhava, from which it is evident that the production was a joint one with Sáyana.

From the Kála Mádhava and other treatises, Mádhava's guru (preceptor) appears also to have been called Vidyá-tirtha, or Bháratí-tirtha.

The following is an abstract of an account of Mádhava contained in the copper-plate grant published in the Journal of this Society No. III. of 1852, p. 107.

On the banks of the Tungabhadrá, in the Carnatic Desa, is the shrine of Virúpáksha (now called Hampi-Virúpáksha). Near it was Vijayá, the capital. In it reigned a Yádava king named Sri Sangama, after him was Sri Bukka rája; his son was Harihara. By order of Harihara, the minister Mádhava was ruling at Jayantipura. He besieged the city of Goa in the Conkan, and drove away the Turushkas (Turks or Mahomedans), and re-established the images of Saptanátha (now called Sapta Kotisvara), and after Mádhava's death Harihara appointed Narahari Mantri in Goa as ruler of Jayantipura. This account as made out by me

differs to some extent from that given in the Journal, the translation there given being erroneous in many places.

In Saka 1313 (A. C. 1381) in the year Prajāpati, in the month of Vaisākha, on the wane of the moon, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, Mahāmantrisvara (the chief of the great ministers), Upanisan Márgapratvartakáchārya (the establisher of the ways of the Upanishads), Sriman Madhavarája gave the village of Kuchara, after naming it Mādhavapura, to twenty-four Brahmans.

I possess a copy of a copper-plate grant sent to me by a pandit from Goa, where in a short eulogium Víra Harihara is styled the Lord of the East, South, and West of India.

In his reign, in Goa, Mādhava the chief of ministers, the guide (mantri or áchārya) of the ways of the Vedas and Upanishads, a faithful observer of Sruta and Smárta religious law, of Bháradvája Gotra, the son of Dvivedi Chaundibhatta, the establisher of the linga of Saptanáthá, granted lands publicly in the name of his mother Máchambiká. The village was called Mánchalápura, "a town of Brahmans." Lands and houses for Brahmans were created, and the flowing stream was called Mādhava Tirtha. The names of the father and mother differ from those given in Parásara Mādhava, and I have grave doubts about the real existence or genuineness of the copper-plate.

### XIII.

#### *Report on Photographic Copies of Inscriptions in Dhárwar and Mysore.*

MANY of the inscriptions are in Canarese, and are difficult to be deciphered. The letters are in places doubtful, and there is reason to believe that before being photographed they were filled in with lime or chalk. Interference of this

kind often leads to incorrectness in the copy. The old Canarese language, as well as the Canarese alphabet, has undergone a change, and it is only with the assistance of good Canarese scholars, who have read and studied the old Canarese works, that the inscriptions can be properly deciphered. I have not yet been able to find a person competent to assist me in this department, and my own knowledge is too imperfect to be of service. Some of the inscriptions in the volume are as old as the sixth century of the Christian era ; the later ones, from the eleventh to the sixteenth century, are, I believe, inscriptions on tombstones or memorials of the dead, whilst the older ones are engraved mostly in caves and temples, and relate to their construction, or to gifts or endowments in connection with them.

The older inscriptions are written in the Canarese language mixed with many Sanskrit words, and they generally contain at the beginning a brief account of the contemporary king, and also one or two verses in praise of Siva. The Sanskrit parts of the inscriptions have been read with confidence.

*Inscription No. 1.—“Iwullee, Inscribed Stone at the Sivite Temple.”*

Relates to a grant : was in all likelihood written at the beginning of the eleventh century of the Christian era, and mentions the king Avanáditya, of the Sinda Vansa. This race is a minor one, and has not been met with elsewhere.

The beginning of this inscription is in Canarese, largely mixed with Sanskrit.

*No. 2.—“Iwullee, Inscription on the Gateway of the Town.”*

This inscription is a short one of the eighth century, and on the wall of a temple ; though in the volume it is incorrectly described as being on the gateway of the town.

The two first lines can be deciphered ; they contain the

name of the Chálukya king Satyásraya Srí Prithivi Vallabha Mahárájádhirája.

No. 3.—Iwullee, In a Sivite Temple."

This inscription is the oldest of all, being dated in Saka 506 (Satampancha sátesácha), A. D. 584, and the year of the Kali Yuga 3855, and from the war of the Mahábhárata 3730, thus showing that the war of the Mahábhárata was then regarded as having taken place one hundred and twenty-five years after the commencement of the Kali Yuga. It is clear that enough of confusion existed in Indian chronology even at this early date.

The entire inscription is in Sanskrit verse, and was written in the time of the Chálukya, Pulakesi II., the contemporary of Hiouen Thsang. In some places the letters in the photograph are indistinct and doubtful, but these have been mostly made out from the context. The inscription, besides giving even a better description of the older Chálukya kings of the Dekkan than has hitherto been published, contains two important names, those of the celebrated poets Kálidása and Bháravi, whose fame in this world is compared with that of Ravikírti, the author of the verses in this inscription, who was very probably a Digambara-Jaina. The fact is now placed beyond doubt that Kálidása and Bháravi had achieved fame in India before the end of the sixth century of the Christian era. I have fully discussed the age and works of Kálidása in my "Essay on Kálidása," published in the Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society in 1861.

No. 4.—"Iwullee, Buddhist Stone on the top of the Hill."

This is an inscription of two lines on the pedestal of a Digambara-Jaina image of Mahávira; the symbol below the image is indistinctly seen to represent a lion. The carved image does not appear to be very old, the inscription being of the thirteenth century. It states that Ráma Setti (merchant) of Múla Sangha Balátkhára-gana caused a "Ni-

sidi" (house of rest) to be constructed. Káshta Múla Mayúra and Gopya Sanghas (congregations) are at present known amongst the Digambara-Jainas, and I find the word "Nisidi" used in an inscription in the Udayagiri Caves, Orissa, for a "house of rest."

No. 5.—"Iwullee, Inscribed Rock on the Bank of the River."

This inscription is in old Canarese characters, and in the Canarese language ; it is probably of the fourteenth century. The first line is a moral maxim in Sanskrit :—

"The gift of one's own wealth is meritorious, as is also the preservation of the wealth of others. The destroyers of the wealth of others have their own reduced to nought."

No. 6.—Iwullee, Inscription on a Pillar of the Sivite Temple."

This inscription, which is in Canarese, is of the seventh century. It contains the names of Vadi Ganda, Dámela Ganda, and A'ditya, the son of Hata Deva. They were in all likelihood Pásupatas, as the A'cháryas of the Pásupatas are called *Gandas*. (The word *Ganda* is not found in Professor Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary.)

No. 7.—"Iwullee" (same as No. 6).

Is a Sanskrit verse written about the seventh century of the Christian era :—

"Peace. No man so skilful in the construction of houses and temples as Marsobha lived, or ever will live, in Jam-budvípa."

He was, I believe, the great architect who designed and superintended the construction of many of the temples and important buildings of his time. His name deserves to be commemorated.

No. 8.—"Iwullee, Inscription in a dark vault of the Temple."

This inscription is in Sanskrit, mixed with Canarese —

"Peace. From the Saka Kála, eight centuries and eleven

years having passed (*i. e.* A. D. 789), in the Prajāpati year, in the capital of Sakunta (King), this house for Yogis was constructed by Muni Bhāttāraka (chief of Munis or ascetics), named Guhi." The remainder is not clear.

No. 9.—"Inscribed Stone" (locality unknown).

This inscription contains eighty-one lines. The first line is obliterated. The language is mixed Sanskrit and Canarese. It commences with the prayer that the kingdom of Sri Prithvi Vallabha, Mahārājādhīrāja-Paramesvara, Parama Bhāttāraka, Satyāsraya Kulatilaka, Chālukyā-bharana, Srimat Tribhuvana (Malla) may ever continue to increase. The inscription is incomplete, in most places from pillars or other objects intervening between the ends of the lines and the camera when the photograph was taken. This is the Chālukya king who flourished in Saka 1104, *i. e.* A. D. 1182 (see Mr W. Elliott's List of the Chālukyas, also Thomas's Prinsep, Vol. II. page 277.) Subordinate to Tribhuvana Malla was Mahāmāndalesvara Mayūravarma Mahāmahipāla, with the five great titles (Lord of the city of) Vanavāsi, favoured by the god Dhūkesvara (some linga probably in Vanavāsi), &c. The connection of this king with the next cannot be clearly made out. Tailam-deva, of the Kadamba dynasty, is next mentioned, with many titles. His name is spelt Tailapa and again Tailam-deva. The name of Nāmala-devī, perhaps the queen of Tailama, can next be made out, also the name of a Kadamba king, styled variously, Kāma Nripa, Kāma Bhūmipa, and Kāma-bhūmīsvara. Ketala-devī appears to have been his queen. Both are highly lauded. Next appears Munipati Nāgachandra, probably a Jaina hierarch. In the fifty-fifth line is the expression "Ketala Devilya Jaina Mandiram," which shows that a Jaina temple was constructed by Ketala-devī, the queen of Kāma-deva. The context also shows that at the suggestion of Nāgachandra the temple was dedicated to Ādinātha, the first of the Jaina Tīrthankaras. The image of

A'dinátha was placed in it. A village was granted in Inám to Nandisvara. Bhattáraka. In connection with the titles and praise of Káma Bhumísvara, the names of the Vanavásí and Kuntala countries frequently occur ; also the name of a city, Srí Galakápura or Galápura.

Vanavásí was the capital of the Kadambas : it was visited by Hiouen Thsang. Kuntala is a portion of Maháráshtra : its limits deserve to be carefully noted.

No. 10.—“Badámi, Buddhist Cave and Inscription.”

On the side of a cave in Badámi are small inscriptions containing about ten names, two of which cannot be well made out :—

(1) Chivarika. (2) Srí Vimimmana. (3) Srí Kuda Svámi. (4) Srí Da.....or Va.....(5) Srí Danadeva. (6) Srí Gehpahana (Gehrúana?). (7) Srí Akimi or Arimi. (8) Mágána. (9) Srí Prapannabuddhi or Prasannabudhi. (10) Sri Kana. The alphabet appears to be of the sixth century, and the names are of Jaina Sádhus of the Digambara sect.

No. 11.—“Badámi, Inscribed Rock near the largest Cave.”

There are different names and an inscription of four short lines. The last is difficult to decipher.

The names are—(1) Sri Vimala. (2) Sri.....(3) Sri Rúpa Sekhara. (4) Sri Bálachaila. (5) Sri Kodinaka. (6) Sri Rasá-bhi. (7) Sri Sudnyána Avyarasandha (or Avyaramandha).

The inscription commences with Srímat Prithivi Vallabha Mangalisa, who gave something. The name of Sri Gunabodhi next occurs. Mangalisa was undoubtedly a Chálukya king, the uncle of Pulakesi II. The age of Mangalisa, the sixth century of the Christian era, agrees with the age which may be assigned to the alphabet. The inscription, judging from the alphabet, is a little older than the names at some distance above it. The names therefore were written after the inscription.

No. 12.—“Badámi, Inscription in the interior of the Cave.”

This inscription consists of twenty-four lines, and, judging from the alphabet, is of the sixth century. The photograph is so indistinct that not a single line can be deciphered with confidence.

The Chálukyas are evidently spoken of.

The titles, Mánavyasa, Gotrána, Haritiputrána, of the Chálukyas, can be made out. In the sixth line, the expression “Pravardhamána Samvatsara,” i. e. “the current year” can be made out, but not the number of the year, or the king’s name; also the words Saka Nripati Samvatsara (the year of the Saka king) can be made out, but the date, which is in the seventh line, cannot be deciphered.

The whole inscription is entire and in Sanskrit, and is well worthy of being recopied and translated.

No. 13.—“Badámi” (same as No. 12).

There are six lines, and the language is Canarese. The age of the inscription, judging by the alphabet, is the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

No. 14.—“Badámi” (same as No. 13).

It is dated in Sáliváhana Saka Varshambula 1426, i.e. A.D. 1504, Pramathi year A’shádha Bahula 2nd.

The Gáru (Guru) Munivara (chief amongst Munis) Bálá Vriti, an ascetic from childhood.

Then follows a space, and farther on are two lines in which the name Kandapa Kavivara can be made out.

No. 15.—“Badámi, Inscribed Stone in the Town.”

This inscription consists of thirty-one lines, the upper half of which is obliterated, but the remaining letters can be clearly made out. It relates to the Chálukya Jagadeka Malla. In the year Siddhártha Kártika, bright half 13, the lunar day Monday, he gave gifts to several Yogis, who were probably Pásupatas. The names of two of them are Deva Sarma and Hiddavya Siddha.

The name Gadyána is applied to certain current coins.

The year Siddhártha has reference to a year of the reign of Jagadeka Malla.

No. 16.—“ Purudkula, Inscription on a Stone, nine feet high, in the temple.”

This inscription is in Sanskrit and Canarese. It consists of six distinct lines and twelve broken ones, several more having been erased. There are names of kings of the Chálukya and Sinda dynasties. A king, doubtfully read Mánkávanika, appears to belong to the Chálukya dynasty. In the Sinda Vansa are mentioned, Sáhasottunga, Chámunda Bhúpa, and Áchideva.

The name of Chámunda's wife was Demala Devi. There is some reference to the year of the Saka era in the sixty-sixth line, but as the language is Canarese I cannot at present make out any thing further. The giver of the grant is Áchideva, he gave a village (?) for the temple Vijayesvara.

The land was given in charge of Súryábharaṇa Pandita-deva. Chámunda-deva is stated to be worthy of the praise of the kings of the Gurjaras, Ándhras, Drávidas, and of Magadha and Nepála, and the same Chámunda is said to be the protector (?) of Kalinga, Vanga, Maru, Gurjara, Málava, Chera, and Chola. In describing the Sinda Vansa, the name of Kuntala-desa frequently occurs, and Kuntala appears to have belonged to the Sindas. In describing Sáhasottunga, he is stated to have served the lotus of the feet of the Chálukya king, and is clear that the Sindas were subordinates of the Chálukyas.

No. 17.—“Purudkula, Inscribed Pillar in the Great Temple.”

This inscription consists of seven lines in Sanskrit and Canarese, and belongs to the seventh century. There is a king named Sri Kaliballaha, who has the titles Dhára-varsha-sri-prithivi-vallabha-mahárájádhírája-paramesvara-bhattáraka. His queen is stated to have given some land. The

king may be one of the Ráshtrakútas, but I am not certain as to whether the rendering of his name is correct or not. The name appears to be new, and the king appears to have been a great monarch, as the title Mahárájádhirája (king of kings) shows.

No. 18.—“ Purudkula, Inscribed Pillar outside the Great Temple.”

The pillars have carvings illustrating scenes from the Rámáyana, and names are written over them.

*1st line.*—Karadúsana (Kharadúsana), two brothers of Tádaká, giants (Suppa Nágí), Súrpanakhá, a sister of the giant Rávana, having long and broad nails. Lakkana (Lakshmana) brother of Ráma. Suppanági Lakkana. Ráma Síté.

*2nd line.*—Suppanági Karadúsana Suppanági Ráma Lakkana Síté.

*3rd line.*—Pollathi (Paulastya or Rávana) Ráma, Pollathi, Ráma, Pollathi, Lakkana, Ráma, Síté, Máricha (Marichi) Rávana.

*4th line.*—Suppanakhi (?) Rávana Jatáyu, Rávana Síté, Rávana Site, Lakkana Síté.

The alphabet is of the seventh or eighth century.

No. 19.—“ Purudkula, Inscribed Pillar in the Great Temple.”

This inscription is in Sanskrit verse. It speaks of the style praised by Bharata (the author of the “ Nátya-sástra”).

*Translation.*—“ The elephant, blinded by intoxication (*i.e.* the proud learned) is positively deprived of his ineptitude by the lion sound of delight from the drama composed according to the rules recommended by Bharata (the author of the Bharata-sútras), and the tops (heads) of the mountains, the crooked and proud actors, breaking asunder, fall low indeed by the thunderbolt of the beautiful composition, according to the rules of Bharata as followed by actors.”

Achalada Bharata's Sūtras have been published by my learned friend, Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall.

No. 20.—“ Purudkula, Inscription on the Eastern Porch of the Great Temple.”

There are three lines, two of which are entire, but in the third line two letters only are decipherable.

The name of Dhūliprabhudeva, an ascetic, is made out.

The alphabet is of about the ninth century.

No. 21.—“ Purudkula, Inscription on the Southern Porch of the Great Temple.”

Three lines over an image.

The names of some “Achāryas” and a “gaudahasti” are given ; the letters, though apparently distinct, are not decipherable.

The alphabet is of the seventh century.

No. 22.—“Inscribed Stone in a Temple at Bunshunkuree.”

About fifteen lines are clearly decipherable. From the sixteenth to the twenty-second the lines are more and more destroyed. It is probable that the inscription may have been longer, but if so the lines are completely effaced. It is dated Sālivāhana Saka 1423, i. e. A. D. 1501, and is in Sanskrit and Canarese. It commences with a Sanskrit verse in praise of Siva. The verse is to be found at the commencement of the “Harshacharita” of Bāna-bhatta, who wrote in the seventh century, and is evidently quoted in this inscription and others recording grants of land in this volume. The verse is, I suppose, Bāna’s own, and not quoted by him from an older author. The verse in praise of Ganapati is a composition of the learned commentator Mallinātha, in his “Tikā” (Commentary) on the “Megha-dūta,” or “Cloud-Messenger” of Kālidāsa. The name of a king Achyuta Rāya is found ; he has the titles Sakala-sāmanta-chakra-mukuta-manī-marīchi-manjari-virājita-charana-kamala-rajendra-sekha-ra-srimat-mahārājādhirāja-paramesvara-sri-virapratāpa.

## No. 23.—“Dumbul, Inscribed Stone.”

The photograph is indistinct. The Saka era 1108, i. e. A. D. 1186, can be read.

There are eighty-four lines ; the photographic copy of the inscription is pasted upside down in my book.

## No. 24.—“Guduk. Two Inscribed Stones.”

The inscription on the smaller stone is indistinct, and of the twelfth century. The second inscription is in Sanskrit verse and is indistinct in places. There are fifty-six lines, commencing with the praise of Vishnu, and the record relates to a rájá of the Yadu race. After many kings, there is one bearing the name Sala or Sada. In Sasaka-pura whilst going on a pious duty he killed a tiger which came to devour him, and hence he obtained the title Hayasala, and the town was also called Hayasala. The mark of the wound from the tiger's bite was a source of fear to his enemies. After him, some rájás having reigned, Vinayáditya flourished, to him succeeded Ulayanga, who had two sons, Ballála (or Bellála) and Vishnuvardhana. The elder brother, Ballála, conquered the Gajapati king, Jagaddeva. The younger brother, Visnuvardhana, succeeded Ballála. He wrested Changi and other countries from his enemies, and having subjected all from his residence as far as Bedvála, he bathed his horse in the Krishna-Vená, i. e. the stream formed by the junction of the Krishná and Vená rivers. His nobles used to urge on him the invincibility of Parimardideva, the Chálukya king, and the necessity of caution and courage. He gave lands, performed Yajnyas, gave the “sixteen great gifts,” and did other meritorious works. His son was Nara-sinha ; his queen, descended from a noble family, was Debala-deví. By her he had a son named Vira Ballála, who obtained his dominion by the favour of (the god) Vajresvara. Then follows a fulsome eulogy : he was liberal, skilful in the sciences (Tarka, Kávya, Nátaka, Vátsyáyana, Bharata Raja-niti), a warrior and a patron of the learned.

Having ascended the throne of the Hayasala kings, the kings of Kalinga, Vanga, Magadha, Chola, Málava, Pándya, Kerala, Gurjara, &c., lost their courage. He took sixty elephants from a Kalachuri chief, after conquering Brahma-channipati, the commander of the elephants. He also took possession of Kuntala-desa by rooting out Jaitra Singha. the right arm, as it were, of Bhillama. Bhillama and Jaitrapála were Yádava kings of Devagiri, the modern Daulatábád. He had the titles, Samasta-bhuvanásraya, Sri-prithivi-vallabha-mahárájá-dhirája-parmesvara-parama-bhattáraka-dváravatipuravarádhisvara-ádava-kulámbaradyumani-sammyakta-chúdámani-giri-durgá Malla, &c. He established his camp at Tena Gundí. The god Siva, named Trikutesvara, is in the Kratuka village. Siddhánti-chandra-bhúshana-pandita-deva was a sage who succeeded to the seat of Kála-mukháchárya. Trikutesvara was so called from three lingas in three places, and the sage being considered the fourth place (Kuta), the place was called Chatur-kutesvara. He was truthful, chaste, devoted to contemplation, and eminent in the sciences and in all the "Saiva-kathá" Siddhántas.

For the Ranga-bhoga and daily presents, also for repairs, &c., for gifts to the learned, for feeding ascetics and brahmans, the village of (name lost), with its ancient limits, was given. 1104 years of the Saka king (A. D. 1182) having passed, on Márgasirshya full moon, Saturday, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, the king having washed the feet of Chandra-bhúshana-pandita-deva, the truthful, the disciple of Vidyábharana-deva, the disciple of the disciple of Kála Mukháchárya Somesvara-deva.....

The fruit of protecting Dharma is related to be this by Manu, Vyása, and other great sages.

By the order of king Bellála-deva, Agnisarmá composed this Sásanapaddhati. From the first inscription of fifty lines many letters of the second and third lines are lost. In the Dakshinápatha is a village given for religious purposes

of the name of Kratura, in the centre of the Mahála of thirty villages, called Balvala ; this was given by Janmejaya, of the race of the Pándavas, at the snake-sacrifice, to seventy-two Brahmans of various gotras and so on, Brahmans who attained eminence by (the god) Víra Náráyana Deva..... Bhagatesvara Deva Satya-Vákya, Kalikálarási Pandita.

The story of the grant of the village by Janmejaya appears to me to be fabulous.

No. 25.—“Guduk, Inscribed Stone.”

The photograph is indistinct. The inscription consists of fifty-six lines in mixed Sanskrit and Canarese.

In the second line, the name of Trikutesvara is recognized, and in the twentieth line, that of Rája-deva occurs.

The first two and the last thirteen lines are, from indistinctness, quite illegible.

No. 26.—“Kirwutte, Inscribed Stone.”

In this inscription, which consists of eighty-one lines, the letters below, with the exception of ten, are distinct and legible, but in consequence of the language being Canarese I have not been able to understand its contents. In the beginning (fourth line) occurs the name of Prithiví-vallabha-Mahárajádhira-ja-paramesvara-parama-bhattára-ka-satyásraya-Kula-tilaka-chálukyá-bharana-srímta-tribhuvana Malla-deva ; then follow several names of Panditas, probably of the Pásupata sect. The names are, Sri Vádideva Pandita-deva, Suresvara Pandita-deva. There is something related of Kálidása Dandá-dhisa, probably the commander-in-chief of the Chálukya king. The names of villages also occur, viz., Ana-dolagrahára, Gahagrahára, and Lantitondigráma, and the river Tungabhadrá is also mentioned. The name Kálidása occurs several times, and the names of Gandaráditya Bhuruhimitra, Varma-deva are probably those of the sons and grandsons of the officer Kálidása. In two places Lakutisvara Pandita is mentioned ; he was probably a Pásupata (Nakulisvara). Some gift is presented to him in the

year 14 of the Chálukya Chakravara Pramathi Samvatsara, Jyaishtha Sudha, full moon, Sunday, when an eclipse of the moon took place. For the support of Somesvara, for the food of ascetics, a village is given. Vantha Sri wrote this.

*Note.*—The age of the alphabet is the twelfth or thirteenth century of the Christian era. The name of Tribhuvana Malla is given in Wathen's list of the Chálukyas ("Journal R. A. S.," vol. iv., pp. 7. and 17).

No. 27.—"Sonduttee, Inscribed Stone."

This inscription consists of ninety-three lines, in clear letters, in Canarese mixed with Sanskrit.

The name of "Mallikárjuna" is frequently met with, and may be the name of a king. Lakshmi-deva, of the Rattakula, is praised. In the fifth line, the Ratta dynasty and descendants of the Ráshtra-kúta dynasty are mentioned. Lakshmi-deva does not appear to have been a king, but probably a minister or high officer. Kundidesa is mentioned. The name of a Rája-guru, or "Royal guide," Munichandra, is read; he was probably of the Jaina faith. Mallikárjuna appears in some places to be the name of the king or minister, whilst in others it appears to refer to the great shrine of Mallikárjuna. In one place (the eleventh line) he is called a son of Káma Rája; in another place Sámásiga; his wife's name was Gauri. He lived in Kolára. His guru (spiritual adviser) was Munichandra. By his direction, the god Mallinátha was established (in a temple). There are several names of Munis, such as Sri Munivari, Muni, Mukhya Kánteya Súyyapati, Vrate, Valuvarma, and Samkama. Next follows the praise of the poet Rudra-bhatta. In the sixty-first line a second story commences with Lakshmi-deva, who had the five great titles, and is styled Mahámandalesvara Lattana puravarádhisvara Ratta Kula bhúshana Sindhura Lánchhana Sushvisadayaso Lánchhana Suvarna garuda Dhvaja Sáhasottunga, and so on. He lived in Venugráma. The inscription was written in Saka year 1151. By the

direction of Rája-guru Munichandra, a village called Nirvali was given for the support of the temple of Mallinátha. The sixty-ninth line concludes this portion. Then follows another inscription. The grantee is a Kesi-Rája to Mallinátha. Matímá-deva Gahálya Mánikya Basadiyáchárya Prabhá-chandra Siddhánti-deva Subhachandra Siddhánti-deva Sippa-rappa Indrakírti-deva, Srí Dhara-deva, and other names occur. Some of them ending in "Chandra" appear to belong to the Digambara Jainas.

No. 28.—“Narsapura, Inscribed Stone.”

This inscription is chiefly Canarese, and consists of ninety-two lines, the letters of which are clear. In it the Kalachuri and Kadamba dynasties are referred to. At the conclusion is the year (figure and name obliterated) of Lávideva, of the Kalachuri family. The gift is presented on Monday by Mahámandalesvara Lávideva. Kalachuri appears sometimes as Kalachari. In the ninetieth and ninety-first lines the Saka year 1194 (A.D. 1272), Nandana Samvatsara Mágha, 15 wane of the moon, Monday (Sankramanas), are given.

No. 29.—“Hungul, Memorial Stones.”

On one stone is an inscription of six lines, composed of indistinct letters in Canarese; under it is the figure of a male dancing with females, three on each side, and may be intended to show the Rája dancing with apsaras or fairies in Paradise. Beneath the figures is an inscription of six lines, and under that a battle scene is represented, whilst under it again is a very indistinct inscription of one line.

On the second stone, there is at top an inscription of four lines. In the fourth line the words Sinha-Láñchhana Mayuravarma Vansambára degumáni, undoubtedly indicate the same person as in No. 9. Under the inscription is the figure of a man seated in a palanquin, and attended by musicians, whilst several women are represented as serving him with chamaras, &c. Then follows an inscription of four lines. Below the representations are some words (epithets of

a king whose name is lost); under him was a "Sáparnáditya" or "Sáharnáditya." Below these lines is a representation of a fort, with soldiers armed with swords and shields; under it are four lines which, owing to indistinctness, cannot be deciphered. Under them again is a battle scene, below which are five lines not readable on account of indistinctness; the original could be easily deciphered. Under all is a representation of a great battle.

No. 30.—“Hungul, a Memorial Stone.”

The inscription is of seven lines. In the second line, Srimat Mahámarda (lesvara) can be read. In the fifth line, the words “Sáhasottunga Srimat Tailapa Dèvëna” can be deciphered. The original could be made out entirely.

No. 31.—“Humpee, or Beejanugger, Inscribed Stone.”

This inscription consists of thirty lines in Canarese. Mádhava Nripa and Sámanta Lakkhiya Náyaka and Mádelá Náyaká are mentioned. The names Virúpáksha-deva, Hampádeví, and Bhairava-deva occur. The inscription relates to the repairs of the temple. The name of a village Brahimapuri (11th line) occurs. The Saka year 1121, i. e. A. D. 1199, is given in the eleventh line.

No. 32.—“Humpee, or Beejanugger, Inscribed Stone.”

This inscription consists of forty lines, and is in Canarese mixed with Sanskrit. Some letters in the lines at the commencement are lost. The name of Sáhu, a king who killed Hinduráya Suratrána is met with. Suratrána is the Sanskrit modification of Sultan, and the Hindu sultan referred to here may be Ahmad, the founder of the Nizám Sháhi dynasty of Ahmednuggur. This Sultan was defeated by Krishná-rája, the son of Ambiká and king Narasa. Krishná-rája has a great variety of titles, amongst others Mahárájádhiraíja. His capital was Vijayanagara. He gave to Virúpáksha (Siva temple) the village of Singináyaka Nahalli, and constructed the Rangamandapa (hall).

On the coronation day, he allotted different sums to the

hall for food, repairs, &c. The grant is dated Saka 1430, i. e. A. D. 1518, on the coronation day Mágha Sudha 14.

No. 33.—“Telowlee, Inscribed Stone.”

This inscription consists of one hundred and twenty-six lines, mostly in Canarese, and is of a minister of Singhana, the Yádava king, Saka 1160, i. e. A. D. 1238. The names of Jaitugi and Singhana rájás are mentioned, and Singhana is much praised. He was a Mahárájádhirája and the lord of Dváravatipura, of Vishnu Vansa, and Udvhala-Varáta Bhupati Devagiri-durga Nittale, i. e., I suppose, he who defeated the Rájá of Varadha (Berar) and Devagiri (Dowlatábád). He defeated Jajalla-deva and the Turuskas, who caused Bhojarája of Panálá (the fort of Panálá close to Kolapur) to fly; the conqueror of Vihansi Rája, Hoyasana (Hayasala) Rája, Ballála and Lakshi Rajás. He reduced the pride of the Málivas, the profound Á'bhirás, and the terrible Pendáras (Pendharis). The foe of the king of Gurjara, of Á'rámbaráya. Of him Singhana as also the kings of Anga, Kalinga, Nepála, Chola and Pándya were afraid. The commander of his elephants was Lakhideva.

The race of Salvanta Thakkur is then given. He was descended from Rája Thakkur and Nágésvara-deva. He had authority over Vingaliya. The name of Kuntala (a portion of Maháráshtra) also occurs.

No. 34.—Is only a reduced photograph of No. 33.

No. 35.—“Chowdanpur, Inscribed Stone.”

The inscription commences with the prayer that the power of the king Prithvi-vallabha-mahárájádhirája-paramesvara-satyásraya-kula-tilaka-chálukyábharaṇa-tribhuvana-Malla-deva may ever increase. Afterwards, the name of Chandragupta, of the Gupta race, can be read. There are also several other names, but the language being Canarese, the information, which is of some historical value, cannot now be extracted. Amali-deva Malla Sri-pata Virabhatta and other names occur. The names of Vanavási and

Tungabhadra are found. At the conclusion, Mahásámanta, Vira Lakshmi-kánta, Jitánvaya Chola-Vanságrani and other adjectives applied to a king, whose name may be Víra Lakshmi-kánta of the Chola race, and derived from the Jita or Játa tribe. The inscription, which does not appear to end here, is worthy of translation.

No. 36.—“Chowdanpur, Inscribed Stone.”

Near the beginning is the name of a king Vikramáditya. Then follows praise of king Vira Vikrama, of the Gupta race. He is called Ujjayani puravarádhisvara (Lord of Ujjayani) Vala Kalpa Vriksha Láncchita, Vijayadhvaja, &c., Chandra Guptánvaya, &c. The name of Vanavási occurs. One of the chiefs of the king Víra Vikrama was Kála-Kavoya Náyaka, who gives a grant in Saka year 1113 (A.D. 1191) year Virodha Krita, month Márgasírsha, 15 wane of the moon, on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun, to Muktesvara-deva. The inscription is important, as showing the existence of the rule of the Guptas in Malwa in the twelfth century of the Christian era. Whether the subordinate chief, Kala Kavoya Náyaka was of the Gupta race, is not clear.

No. 37.—“Chowdanpur, Two Inscribed Stones.”

(a) This inscription contains allusions to the Chárváka, Saugupta and Bauddhágama Scriptures; also the names of Devaráya and Víra Vikramánka, the first a Yádava, and the second probably a Gupta prince. To Somnátha-deva, and Siva-deva, on the south bank of the Tungabhadra in Sivamukti-kshetra, a grant is given in the Saka year 1186, i.e., A.D. 1264, year Dundubhi, month Vaisákha, Sudha 15, Monday, when an eclipse of the moon occurred.

The inscription deserves translation.

(b) Praise of Siva Basavaipyá, Prabhu Nandinátha, Jina, Bauddha, “Bhágalesvara.” Vira Marudeva Ráya of the Yádava race, and Vikramáditya of the Gupta race. Saka year (twenty-fifth line) 1148 (A. D. 1226), year Párvitha, month Bhádrapada Sudhapúrvimá, Monday, eclipse of the moon.

Somnátha (a temple). At the end is the name of Tribhuvana Malla Deva. These are well deserving of translation.

No. 38.—“Harihara, Two Inscribed Stones.”

(a) Obeisance to Harihara.

Sáliváhana Saka 1483 (A. D. 1561), year Mammatha, month Mágha Sudha, full moon Monday, eclipse of the moon, when Mahárájádhira, Paramesvara Sri Vira Pratápa Sadásiva Maháráya Vidyánagara Dali Sukha Sankathá Vindoda made a grant.

(b) Photograph indistinct. (Line 3), Saka year 1453, i.e. A. D. 1531.

No. 39.—“Harihara, Inscribed Stone.”

This inscription consists of eighty-five lines in Canarese mixed with Sanskrit. The lower fourteen lines are indistinct.

Bhillam and Jaitugi, Singhana Mahádevaráya and Rama-chandra, Mahindra of the Yádava race, are mentioned. The last king gives a grant ; he is in one place styled Kadambaráya Sthápanáchárya, the restorer (literally, establisher) of the Kadamba king. He is also described as the destroyer of the wealth of the Hayasana king, the establisher of the king of Telanga, and the destroyer of the king of Málava (Maliva). He was the Ankusa (or elephant goad) of Bhojarája. Saka year 1199, year Isvara, month Chaitra.....13.

No. 40.—“Harihara, Two Inscribed Stones.”

(a) The surface of the stone has scaled off in places, and at the bottom the photograph is indistinct.

The language is Sanskrit and Canarese. The first five lines are in Sanskrit ; they contain praises of Sámba, Gana-pati, and Varáha.

(b) There are seventy-one lines and the lower part (thirty-six-lines) is very indistinct in the photograph, and therefore unreadable.

There was Sri Sankara Náráyana Deva, king of Kánchi-pura and of the Yádava race ; under him was Vijaya Pándya

Deva of the Pándya family ; under him was the chief minister Vijayavarmá ; under Vijaya Pándya Deva was Mahá māndalesvara Vanavási Puravarádhisvara, Vánara Dhvaja, &c., Kadamba-chakri, Mayúra Varmá, who had performed eighteen Asvamedhas (horse sacrifices).

No. 41.—“Harihara, Inscribed Stone.”

This inscription is clear, with the exception that in places the lines are destroyed, and at the bottom indistinct. The language is Sanskrit with some Canarese.

Obeisance to Harihara. There is next an account of a king named Hariharesvara, who was brave, liberal, &c. ; his son was Deva Rája, famous, &c. There is some reference to the Hinduráya Suratrana (Sultan). Deva Rája gave a grant at the suggestion of Rája Guru Kriyá Sakti-Guru, in the Saka year 1332, year Vikriti, month Bhádrapada, Sudha 12, Monday.

No. 42.—“Harihara, Inscribed Stone.”

An inscription of many lines, of which forty-seven only are legible, the rest being indistinct in the photograph.

The language is Canarese and Sanskrit. The name of Kuntala-desa occurs ; then a description of the Chálukya king Jagadeka Malla ; then names or descriptions, Vera Padma Bhúpa Harihara, Bhúdeva Káma Nripála.

No. 48.—“Harihara, Inscribed Stone.”

The first two lines are in the Deva-nágari character, but are illegible from the indistinctness of the photograph and the smallness of the letters. Next is a description of the Chálukya kings of Tailapa, Jayasinha and A'havamalla.

No. 44.—“Chittula Durga, Two Inscribed Stones.”

(a) The letters are indistinct. In the second (b) is the king's name, and (a) is older than (b). (b) Saka era 1324, year Khara, month Kártika Sudha Pùrnimá Mahámandalesvara Vira Malla.

No. 45.—“Chittula Durga, Two Inscribed Stones.”

(a) Contains frequently the name of Bukkaráya. In the seventh line is Saka year 1278, year Durmukha.

(b) Bukka-ráya again. The Mahámandalesvara Khan-derai. Saka 1277. Bukka-ráya was the king of Vijayana-gara on the Tungabhadrá, and the patron of the learned brothers, Mádhava and Sáyana."

No. 46.—"Lakhmeshwar, Inscribed Stone."

Canarese with some Sanskrit.

In this inscription are names of the Chálukya kings, viz., Tailapa, Satyásraya, Vikrama, Sandaiyana, Jayasinha, A'hamalla and Somesvara, who was a destroyer of the Cholas and Gurjaras. Permádi Nripa is also alluded to. Names of Kesarája Dandádhisa, Kesava-deva, Abirája Dandádhisa, Melamaiya Dandádhisa, Adisa-bhattá, Droná-chárya Gonadi, follow ; also, names of females, viz., Chomal-devi, Vennál-devi, Laliya-devi. Manola and Ahera are two races, the latter meaning no doubt the Ahira or Abhira race. Kesi-devi was of the former race. Mahendra Somavrati, Soma and Pandita-deva were Pásupatas.

Somanátha refers to the Siva-linga noticed before. Jaya Kesí-deva and Mantri Kesava were ministers. The era has not been discovered.

NOTE.—The list of Chálukyas here given tallies with that of Wathen, (Journal R. A. S., Vol. 4. 1837, p. 7.)

No. 47.—"Balagavee, Inscribed Stone."

Canarese with a little Sanskrit ; letters clear. In the fifteenth line are Saka 976, year Jaya, month Vaisákha, dark half, third lunar day. The introduction commences with a prayer that the reign of Trailokya Malla-deva, the Chálukya king, may be prolonged. A'hava Malla Vallabha appears to have established the image or linga of Somesvara-deva. The names of A'cháryas (Pásupatas), viz., Chandresvara-deva, Mankha-deva, and Jnyána Siva-deva occur.

No. 48.—"Balagavee, Inscribed Stone."

The letters are very clear. The total number of lines is sixty-six.

It commences with obeisance to Lakuléśa Sásana (a particular sect of the Pásupatas). The name of Somesvara Muni occurs. Vikramádity-deva and Tribhuvana Malla-deva of the Chálukyas are mentioned, also Bhágala-devi, daughter of a king, a dependent of Tribhuvana Malla of the Pándya family, ruler of Gokarna and of the Konkan. Kaina-deva, a Mahámandalesvara, is also mentioned ; likewise, Somesvara Pandita, Santa Siva and Kriya Sakti Pandita.

The date is the thirty-seventh year of Vikrama, the Chálukya king, year Nandana, month Pausha Sukla Paksha, 4th lunar day, Sunday.

Mallakárjunabhatta, "the best of poets," wrote the grant. No. 49.—"Balagavee, Inscribed Stone."

The letters are clear, and each line is numbered. The inscription relates to Vijjana-deva, rája of the Kulachuri race ; he has a great variety of titles. Kuntala (country) is mentioned, also Jnyána Sakti-deva (a Páupata A'chárya) Mánika Setti, Siva Pada Sekhara, Mari Setti, Lovi Setti, Holli Setti, Sari Machi Setti. Year of Víra Náráyana A'havamalla-deva's reign 3 ; year Plavanga ? Srávana Bahula, 3rd lunar day.

No. 50.—"Balagavee, Two Inscribed Stones."

(a) Obeisance to Siva and to Rája-guru. Praise of Vijjana-deva, Mahárájádhirája Paramesvara Parama Bhattára-ka Kalinjara Puravarádhivara Suvarna Vrishabhadvaja Damaruka-turyamirghoshaná Kalachurya Kuli-Kamala Már-tanda Kadana Prachanda Mána Kanakáchala Subháráditya, &c., Tribhuvana Malla Vijjana-deva. It is important to note that he is called Lord of Kalinjara, which is in Central India, and the ruins of it are described in the "Journal of the B. A. S." Next is a description of Sankama-deva. Lakshmi-deva, Chadugi-deva, Revanaiya Danda Náyaka, Sevanlya Danda Náyaka Senápati Kovaniya Danda Náyaka are mentioned. A temple of Trikúta Prasáda of Kedáresvara-deva in Balligráma

was constructed. For its support, a village was given to Váma Sakti Pandita in Saka era 1108 (A. D. 1186) Parabhava year, month Vaisákha Súddha (bright half of the moon). The names of Tailaha-deva occurs (35th line), Tekalla Nripa (37th line), also Tailapa Kshonipála (37th and 38th lines).

(b) The name of the Chálukya king, Vikramáditya, then of Senápati Mantapála, destroyer of the Látas, he was a Danda Náyaka. Next Pandita and Munindra Kanda-deva are mentioned, also Somesvara Pandita. That the reign of the Chálukya Tribhuvana Malla may prosper steadily is prayed for. In the year 27 of the Chálukya Vikramáditya, Govinda Danda Náyaka gave a village to Somesvara-deva Pandita, the Sthánachárya (the local spiritual guide) of Kedáresvara.

No. 51.—“Balagavee, Two Inscribed Stones.”

(a) Name of Jagaddeva Bhúpa Vijala-deva, Vijayáditya-deva, Jayakesi-deva, Tribhuvana Malla, and Jagaddeva occur. In the year 13 of Jayadeka Malla Deva Kártika Paurnamási, Monday, eclipse of the moon, a village was given for Kadáresvara to Srí Khairapya Srí Gautama Pandita.

(b) The name of Trailokya Malla Deva, the Chálukya king, occurs. He has, besides others, the title of Mahárájá-dhirája. Mahámandalesvara Vijana-deva, the Kalachuri lord of Kalanjara, is also mentioned. In Balipuri, the capital, for the support of the Southern Kedáresvara, a village was given to Váma Sakti Pandita-deva, the Sthánachárya, in the 6th year of Trailokya Malla (54th line).

Nos. 52, 53, 54 and 55 are “Inscriptions from Halla Bede, from the four sides of a pillar at the south entrance of the temple.”

The inscription commences with No. 54. The whole of it is clear, but being in Canarese, nothing has as yet been made out. In line 22, No. 54, is the name of Víra Ballála Nripa; his Senápati was Kuvara Lakshma (2nd and 3rd lines No. 55).

No. 56.—“ Hulla Bede, Inscribed Stone.”

The inscription is in Canarese mixed with Sanskrit. Obeisance to Somanátha. The name of Vikramárka of the Gupta race occurs, also of Vijjala-deva, of Golavara Nripa, Soma Nripa, Somadeva Rana Nripati, Vibhu Mallagi or Malagi Deva Áhawamalla (probably a Kulachuri rájá) Jaya Deva. The lower part being here and there destroyed, the Saka year is not decipherable.

No. 57.—“ Hulla Bede, Inscribed Stone.”

The inscription is in Canarese and Sanskrit. There is a description of Vikrama, a Gupta king. He is also called Vikrama Bhúpála Víra Vikrama and Vikramáditya. The queen's name was Padmana-devi. A solar race also appears to be described. There was Sántalí Mandala-dhipati Sinha Bhúpála. From him was descended Jinadatta Nripála Singadeva Kshitipa Singa Nripála, &c. The king Vikramáditya granted a village to Somanátha. In the 74th line is the name of Brahmapuri.

Saka 1136, year Srímukha, month Chaitra Vadya Amávasyá ; solar eclipse.

#### REMARKS.

In this large photographic work published by the Committee of the Architectural Antiquities of Western India, there are sixty-nine plates, some of which contain double inscriptions. Some of the inscriptions are Jaina, and the rest of Brahmans and Pásupatas. The greater number of them record grants of land on the occasion of a lunar or solar eclipse. The oldest and most valuable is the Jaina inscription at Iwulle, a translation of which, with remarks, I read at a former meeting. Of the others, No. 12 in the Caves at Badami is equally old, but unfortunately is illegible on account of the indistinctness of the photograph. It relates to the Chálukyas, and a distinct copy would be valuable.

The inscriptions recording grants of land have at top a representation of the Sun and Moon, a Linga (Phallus) and a Nandi (Bull), a Cow and a Calf. The sun and moon are intended as witnesses ; the cow represents the land grant, and the calf the recipient who enjoys the fruit ; the Linga and Nandi represent Siva and his bull. There is generally a worshipper with Jata (plaited hair) on his head, putting a cap on the linga, or throwing flowers on it, or bowing to it, and so on. Some of the stones are memorial stones, and are interesting as representing battle scenes, and the various kinds of war implements then in use.

The inscriptions range from the sixth to the fourteenth century of the Christian era. The resumé now submitted throws considerable light on the chronology and history of Southern India at that period. No doubt when some of the more remarkable inscriptions are fully translated, they will prove still more useful.

Photography is a very good method of copying the inscriptions for the purpose of decipherment, but it cannot equal, much less supersede, correct copies carefully made on the spot by some person competent to read the original. Almost every one of the originals of the photographs must be examined on the spot.

The inscriptions relate to the Chālukya, Yādava, Kulachuri, Kadamba, Gupta, Ratta, and Singha dynasties. As I intend to furnish the fullest notes on these dynasties, I do not think it necessary to make any lengthy remarks here. The inscriptions have thrown some unexpected light on the dynasty of the Guptas. At the time of Samudragupta, as may be seen from his inscription on the Allahabad pillar, Mālava was ranked among the great kingdoms owing allegiance to him. His son, Chandragupta 2nd, must have conquered Mālava and transferred his seat of government to Ujjayini, for the inscriptions of Chandragupta 2nd are found at Bhilsā in the neighbourhood of Ujjayini. The inscriptions now

deciphered speak of Guptán-vayas, or descendants of the Guptas, who gave the grants. Vikramáditya himself is called a descendant of Chandragupta, and lord of Ujjayini, and his subordinate gives a grant in Southern India. It is clear, therefore, that the Guptas continued to rule at Ujjayini till the twelfth century of the Christian era, and their sway seems to have extended as far as Vanavásî in the south-west, which I may here remark was the capital of the Kadamba dynasties. We are in extreme doubt respecting the history of the Guptas after Buddhagupta. Babu Rájendralála Mitra has contributed a few names from an inscription at Aphysar, in the Behar district, viz. :—

1. Krishna Gupta, 2. Haskka Gupta (son of 1), 3. Jiscita Gupta (son of 2), 4. Kumára Gupta (son of 3), 5. Dámodara Gupta (son of 4), 6. Mahásena Gupta (son of 5), 7. Mádhava Gupta (son of 6),.....8. Hashka Gupta (2nd son of 7), 9. A'ditya Sena (son of 8).

In the absence of data, it was found impossible by the learned Babu to determine the era of these princes, or the position they occupied in the history of Ancient Magadha. Some of the inscriptions now analysed are therefore valuable as throwing further unexpected light on the history of the Guptas. Remnants of the descendants of the Guptas who ruled in Southern India (Nos. 56, 57, 58) may be discovered, although, on careful inquiry, descendants of the Chálukyas, Yádavas, and Kadambas, still bear the family name, with occasionally slight variation. What families then represent the Guptas? A descendant of the Játas, which may be read also Jitas (Getæ), the Játs, appears as a Chola king on the Chola-Mandala or Coromandel Coast.

## XIV.

*Discovery of complete Manuscript Copies of Bána's Harsha Charita, with an Analysis of the more important portions.*

## THE HARSHA CHARITA OF BÁNA.

A copy of the Harsha Charita of Bána, complete and accurate, with a Commentary, was discovered in Kásmir by a learned Pandit who was formerly in my service.

He has, at my special request, been examining many valuable libraries in that ancient seat of Sanskrit learning, and has sent me copies of many valuable manuscripts not procurable or even heard of in other parts of India. Beautiful copies of the original text and commentary of the Harsha Charita were made for me, and they reached me on the 30th July 1869.

The copyist of the original has the two following verses at the end :—

"In the year 955, month Chaitra, 14th lunar day of bright demilunation, Monday, I have copied the most wonderful and instructive account of Mahárájá Harsha, composed by the ingenious and learned Bána."

Neither the era nor the name of the copyist is given.

The copy now in my possession is far more correct than those hitherto procurable, and also has the merit of being a complete one.

The copies procured by my friend Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall were all incomplete, as was also one which was procured for me by my Pandit, Pándurang Gopál Pádhyé, twelve years ago and of which I sent a copy to the learned Bábú Rájendralála Mitra in 1861.

The work is divided into eight parts (*ucchvásas*). The eighth part has not hitherto been found complete ; and the discovery of the Kásmir manuscript, containing as it does all the parts in full, thus renders the work complete throughout, and at the same time removes an impression which

naturally arose, that, from some unknown cause, the author did not live to complete his work, and that it was thus brought to an abrupt termination.

The commentary is styled "Harsha Charita Sanketa." Its author is a Pandit named Sankara, the son of Punyákara. His age and country are not given, but, as the commentary has only been found in Kásmír I feel justified in supposing him to have been a native of Kásmír. He quotes the Amara Kosha, Raghu Kávya, Medical Nighantus, and other comparatively ancient works. The commentary is brief, but ably written, and is composed of a little more than two thousand verses. The copy sent is unusually free from mistakes. From the expressions "ityeké," "ityannyé," ("others explain it thus"), which frequently occur, it appears that there were other glosses preceding this one of Sankara Pandit. With the assistance of this commentary, doubtful readings have been corrected, and I hope to publish soon an excellent edition of Bána's Harsha Charita, with the commentary of Sankara. The names of the poets Kálidása, Rájasekhara, and Bhámaha are referred to. Although I have ventured to suggest that the commentator was a native of Kásmír, yet he betrays extreme ignorance of the history of that country. In commenting on the following verse of Bána in the introduction, he proceeds to explain that "Pravarasena was a certain poet," the real fact being that Pravarasena was a distinguished king of Kásmír, who, in my opinion, was a contemporary of Hiouen Thsang. The commentary is rare even in Kásmír. The Pandit in whose library it was found was not himself aware of its existence. It has now been brought to the notice of many Kásmír Pandits by the eulogies of my Pandit, and many copies are being made by them.

An excellent abstract of the manuscript is given by Dr. Hall in his notes on his learned Preface to the Vásavadatta of Subandhu, published in Calcutta in 1859 in the Bibliotheca

Indica. I shall commence nearly where Dr. Hall concludes (p. 53) :—

“Rájá Harsha, having entered the wilds of the Vindhya mountains, travelled in all directions for many days for the discovery of his sister, Rájya Sri. He met a Chief named Vyághraketu, son of Sarabhaketu. He introduced to the King, Nirgháta, the Commander-in-Chief of the Bhúkampa Sabaras. The King made inquiries of the Sabara Chief regarding Rájya Sri ; he replied that no woman answering to the description given by the King was known to have been seen in his jungles, but promised to make vigorous efforts for her discovery. He remarked that at the distance of two miles, on a hill with a thick wood at its base, there resided, with a number of disciples, a Bauddha Bhikshu, a mendicant (*Pindapáti*)<sup>\*</sup> named Divákaramitra, who might possibly have heard of Rájya Sri. Hearing this, the King thought that Maitráyaníya† (Brahman) Divákaramitra, the friend of Grahavarma, having abandoned the “way of the Vedas,” in his youth put on brown clothes and embraced the Saugata creed. King Harsha, taking the Sabara Chief with him, proceeded to the abode of Divákaramitra. He admired the

\* *Pindapáti* is the name to be found in this work of Bâna for Bauddha mendicants. They went from house to house, begging for rice pindas or balls. See also Mâlati-Mâihava Act I., in which the commentator Jagad-dhara explains the word *Pindapâta*, as “Bhikshâbhramana,” “the begging-round” of a Bauddha Bhikshu.

+ This Maitráyaníya Brahman appears to have lived at the foot of the Vindhyas. At the present day at Bhadgâon and other conterminous villages near the Sâtpuda mountain, which is included in the Vindhyas, there are Brahmins of the Maitráyaníya school. They are rarely found in other places, and when they are, they may generally be traced to Bhadgâon. This is stated by me on the authority of several Brahmins of this school. It is remarkable to trace the residence of this class of Brahmins from the time of Harsha Vardhana to the present day. Other classes of Brahmins do not eat with them, and the reason may have been the early Buddhist tendencies of many of them.

mountain scenery on the way, and got down from his conveyance on approaching the hermit's residence. Having placed his hand on Mádhavagupta's shoulder, he with a few Chiefs walked on. He found there followers of various schools, viz., Vitarágas, Árhatas, Maskarins, Svetapatas, Pátarabhikshus (commentator), (in the text, Pánduri-bhikshu), Bhágavatas, Varnins, Kesalunchakas, Kápilas, Kánádas, Aupanishads, Aisvaras, Karanins, Kárandhamins, Dharmasás-trins, Pauránikas, Saptatantavas, Sábdaś, Páncharátrikas, and others. He also met Divákaramitra Bhikshu, and made him obeisance. Divákaramitra, seeing the King, said, "To-day our austerities have, even in this life, borne us good fruit by giving us a sight of the beloved of the gods ; at the expense of my own body, I am ready to do the King's business." The King made inquiries regarding Rájya Sri. It so happened that Rájya Sri was at this time making preparations for self-cremation. An old female companion of Rájya Sri went to a disciple of Divákaramitra and said, "O mendicant ! Pravrajá (the vow to abandon all worldly enjoyments) is generally full of mercy to all beings, and Saugatas (Buddhists) are ever intent on fulfilling the vow, to suffer themselves for the relief of the sufferings of others. The teaching of the Lord Sákyá Muni is the family abode of mercy. The goodness of Jina is ever ready for the benefit of the whole world, and the religious law (*dharma*) of the Munis is a way of securing future bliss. There is no meritorious action more praised in the world than that of saving life. Pray, therefore, prevent my companion from destroying herself by fire." "My Guru (master)." said the disciple, "is verily a second Sugata (Buddha); when I relate to him this account, he is sure to come. He is full of pity. By the good words of Sugata, calculated to pierce the dark veil of sorrow, and by his own discourses, with illustrations culled and rendered weightier from the various Agamas (scriptures), he would lead the good-natured lady to the path of knowledge."

Accordingly a Bhikshu (mendicant) came and said, "A woman in sorrow is ready to destroy herself by fire, not far from this abode." Hearing this, the King, with Divákaramitra, proceeded quickly, followed by the King's retinue, to the place of the fire. With great difficulty she was persuaded to abandon her purpose, and they having succeeded in consoling her and soothing her sorrows, treated her to a dinner. The Rájá heard all that had happened from the time she was put in confinement in Kányakubja, and from which she was released by a descendant of the Gupta kings. She then heard of the death of Rájya Vardhana, her eldest brother, on which she left off food and drink, and wandered through the woods of the Vindhya. Overcome with sorrow, she made preparations to burn herself. All this the King heard from her attendants.

The King and his sister were sitting under a tree, and seeing the attendants at a distance, Divákaramitra approached the King and said, 'O King, Chandra took by violence Tárá, the wife of Brihaspati. Still he used to suffer pangs from her separation. On one occasion he saw his own image reflected in the sea, and, being overwhelmed with passion and the thought of Tárá, his tears fell fast, and being swallowed by the shells in the sea were converted into pearls. These came into the possession of Vásuki (the king of Nágas). He strung them together. They possessed the power of destroying poison and producing a cooling sensation, and Vásuki wore them for that purpose. To procure some, the Nágas brought Nágárjuna Bhikshu to Pátala (the lower regions). Nágárjuna having asked for them, Vásuki presented them to him. Afterwards Nágárjuna presented them to Sátaváhana Narendra, the lord of the three seas, and his personal friend. In time, handed from master to disciple, they have at length come to my hands ; accept them that they may protect you from poison (evil)." Having thus said, he unloosed the '*ekávali*' tied in a knot in a Bhikshu's cloth

(‘chivitra’) and attached it to the King’s shoulders. After a time, a maid of Rájya Sri (whose duty it was to present the betel-leaf for chewing) approached the King and spoke lowly as follows :—“Mahárája, through me Rájya Sri begs to say to you that to women a husband or child is a support. To those who have neither, life is full of sorrows. Give therefore your permission for me, Rájya Sri, to put on the brown garments (the sign of devotion to the mendicant order).” The Rájá made no answer, but Divákara Bhikshu said, “This your elder brother Harsha is to you like your father, and it is proper that you should live under his commands.” Rájá Harsha addressed Divákaramitra, “ You are like a pillar of support to people in sorrow. I therefore say that this my sister in her youth has been afflicted with sorrow, and I have resolved to slay the family of the enemy who killed my brother. Until this resolution of mine is carried into effect, I am anxious she should be with me, and so should you, that with religious consolation you may comfort her till my wishes are fulfilled. She and I shall accept the brown garments at the same time.” The Bhadanta agreed to the King’s request. The Rájá, with the Bhadanta and others, went to his army. The sun set, and the moon rose and shone beautifully.”

The following is a careful translation of a passage which is of importance as containing a number of historical data. It has been translated in the preface to the Vásavadattá by Dr. Hall as follows :—

“Skandagupta, while counselling Harsha to avenge the murder of his brother, consoles him by recapitulating historical instances of untimely death. The learned commandant had heard of numerous mischances of this kind, which are now known only by his retail of them. Nágasena, of the Nága family, was destroyed at Padmávati ; perfidy abridged the days of Srutavarman at Srávasti, and of Svárnachúdá the Yavana. Mártikávanta lost his life from talking in his sleep. Agnimitra’s son Sumitra was slain by Múladeva ;

Brihadratha, the Maurya, by his own general, Pushpamitra ; Kākavarna, lord of Chāndī, by a descendant of Sisupāla ; Devabhūti, the Saunga, through the instrumentality of his own minister, Vásudeva ; Mágadha by the counsellor of the governor of Mekhalā ; Jaghanyaja, son of Pradyota, by Tála-jangha ; a Gajapati king of Videha, by Kumárasena, in the guise of a leech ; Bhadrasena, king of Kalinga, by Virasena, his brother ; Vajraprabháva, ruler of Karuṣha, by his younger son ; a prince of the Sakas at Nalinapura, by Chandragupta, habited as a woman ; Chandraketu, prince of the city of Chakora, by an emissary of King Súdraka ; Mahásena, prince of Kásī, by Suprabhá ; a duke of Ayodhyá by Ratnavatī ; Rantideva, by Rangavatī, one of his wives ; Vidúratha by Bindumatī ; Virasena, of Sauvíra, by Hansavatī ; and Soma, a monarch of the Pūrus, by a woman of his own race. Devavasena, of Suhma, was poisoned by Devaki ; and Bharata, who reigned over Asmaka, was also cut off before his time, as were Pushkara, prince of Chámundi ; Kshetrvavarman, the Maukhari ; Brihadratha, of Mathurá ; Vatsapati ; King Varnatála ; and Saisunáli, who committed suicide."

My translation of the same from my more perfect copy is as follows :—

Nágasena, of the Nága family, was destroyed at Padmávatī, from his secrets having oozed out. Perfidy abridged the days of Srutavarman at Srávasti, and at Mrittikávati, Svarnachūdá lost his life from talking in his sleep. A Yavana king was destroyed by his female chouri-bearer from her reading a letter reflected in his head-ornament. Brihadratha, king of Mathurá, was led by his avarice to dig for buried treasure, and killed by his troops. Vatsapati (*i.e.*, I suppose, Udayana, king of Vatsa ; see Kathá-sarit-ságara), who was fond of sporting in the elephant jungle, was made prisoner by soldiers of Mahásena (Chanda Pradyota of Ujjayinī) concealed in an artificially constructed elephant. Mitradeva, having joined a company of actors, cut off the

head of Sumitra, the son of Agnimitra (who was very fond of dancing), just as a lotus should be sliced off. A king of Asmaka, fond of music, had his head cut off by enemies who presented themselves as students of music anxious to learn the science from him, and who had concealed a sharp sword in a *vīṇā* (musical instrument). Brihadratha, the Maurya, a fool, was crushed at a grand review by his own general, the treacherous (*anārya*, low) Pushpamitra.\* Saisūnágī† (Saisúnári in the text) was carried by force, in a machine moving in the air (was this a balloon?), which was constructed by Yavanas (Greeks), and had his throat cut near the city. The Sunga, full of lust and addicted to women, was killed by his minister Vasudeva, through the instrumentality of the daughter of a female servant of Vasubhūti, dressed and introduced as a queen. A king of Magadha, fond of excavations in the earth, was carried off through a tunnel (full of the jingling noise of the feet-ornaments of many women) in the Godhanagiri (a mountain named Surpa,‡ according to the annotator) to their own country by the ministers of the king of Mekala) (the Vindhya, according to the commentator). At a festival of Mahákála (in Ujjayini), Tálajangha Vetála (Chief of Evil Spirits) killed Kumárasena, a Paunaki (born in the Punnaka family), the youngest son of Pradyota (Pratodya in the text), whilst foolish enough to go and offer to sell "Mahámánsa,"§ Ganapati, the son of the king of Videha, addicted to alchemy and medical preparations, after hearing how many persons had benefited by their medicines, was induced by quacks to submit to their treatment, which caused

\* Mentioned by Patanjali, and apparently his contemporary.

† One of the ten "Sisunágas. See Vishnu-purāna.

‡ There is a hill near Kannada in Khāndesh called Surpala.

§ See Málati-Mádhava. Nádhava went to the great burning-ground at mid-night and offered to the spirits his own flesh. He there found Málati.

him to be affected with consumption. Bhadrasena of Kalinga, who trusted entirely to women, was destroyed by his eldest queen's brother, who concealed himself in a secret place in a wall. Dadhna, son of the king of the Karushas, who was trying to place another son on his throne, was killed by his own son, Virasena, who was sitting on his mother's bed. Súdraka killed Chandraketu, the lord of Chakora, with his ministers, coming to hear of his intention to remove him (Súdraka) from office (of chief minister, I presume). Pushkara, king of Chámundi (city, Chámundá according to the commentator), who was fond of killing rhinoceroses, was killed by the soldiers of the king of Champá, who concealed themselves in a jungle amongst reeds and shrubs. Kshatravarmá, of the Maukhari family, a fool and fond of praise-singers, was rooted out by Mankhas (praise-singers), who were ever crying out "success" but were in reality employed as assassins (by his enemies). In Aripuri, a Sakapati (king of Sakas, Sakáchárya, according to the commentator), an adulterer was punished (killed) by Chandragupta, who presented himself in the dress of a woman.

The misfortunes which have befallen the careless through the treachery of women are well known to the king ; such as Mahásena, prince of the Kásis, was killed with food mixed with poisoned honey, by Suprabhá, that her son might succeed to the throne. Járúthya, a king of Ayodhyá, a source of irritation to his enemies, was killed by his wife, Ratnavati, by throwing a sharp-edged circular mirror at him, pretending only to play and joke with him. A king of Saumha, named Devasena, was killed by his queen Devaki (who had illicit intercourse with her brother) by mixing poison with the blue lotus aborning her ears. Rantideva, prince of Vairanti (city), was killed by his wife Vallabhá, with her ankle-ornament, on account of jealousy of his other wife. Vidúratha, the Vrishni, was killed by Vindumati by an instrument concealed in the folds of her hair. Virasena of Sauvira by his wife Hansavati,

by means of a poisoned stone in her waistband. Somaka, of the Púrus, by his wife Paurava, by taking a mouthful of poisoned liquor and inducing her husband to drink it from her mouth.

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## XV.

*Report on some Hindu Coins.*

THE coins (83), eighty-three, "found by certain boys in the village of Devláná, Táluka Báglán, near the side of a river," forwarded by H. N. B. Erskine, Esq., Collector of Násik, with his letter dated 22nd January 1870, are very important as furnishing the name of a new king of about the same age as Kumára Gupta. Eighty-two of the coins weigh fifteen tolas and thirty-eight grains, the average weight of a piece or single coin being thus thirty-three and a half grains. The coins are of silver, and vary in weight from thirty to thirty-four grains.

They are all from the mint of one king. They resemble the coins of Kumára Gupta considerably. The face is a good deal similar to that of Kumára Gupta, and as the execution of the coins of Kumára Gupta exhibits a deterioration of art when compared with the coins of the Kshatrapas, so is a similar defective workmanship to be detected in these coins. On the obverse of Kumára Gupta's coins there is a peacock, but in its stead there is on these coins an image of *Nandi*, or the bull. But it is as well to point out that in the coins of Skanda Gupta, the son of Kumára Gupta, there is sometimes on the obverse a *Nandi* or bull. I possess a coin of Skanda Gupta with a peacock on the obverse.

The *Nandi* is pretty well executed on the coins, in a squatting posture.

Around the *Nandi*, which is in the centre, are letters which are of the same age as those of Kumára Gupta's coins,

and are equally difficult to decipher, as the diacritical marks are not given.

Selecting twelve coins, I have carefully cleaned them, and doubtful letters in one have been made out by more distinct impressions of the same in others. The legend is read by me as follows :—

*JEŪJVVVJYVJU C O G I J T U*

“ Rājā Parama Māhesvara ; Mānasa Nṛipa Deva Dhyāna Śrīkasa (?).”

Who this Mānasa Nṛipa or king, “the great devotee of Māhesvara, who derives his glory from contemplating God,” was, it is impossible at present to say. We are in perfect darkness with regard to the kings of the Dakhan between the time of Gotamiputra, whose name occurs in the Cave Inscriptions, and that of Jaya Sinha Vallabha, the oldest Chālukya king whose name has been as yet discovered.

In my opinion the coins belong to a king, probably of the Dakhan, about the end of the fourth century of the Christian era.

## XVI.

### *Transcript and Translation of King Rudradeva's Inscription at Anamkonda.*

1. Svasti ! May there be prosperity, success, and perpetual increase !

Peace ! May the successful reign of King (Rajūla) Rudradeva, of the Kākatiya dynasty, last with ever-increasing prosperity as long as the moon, sun, and stars exist ; the king who had the five great epithets, he Mahāmandalesvara,

Anmakundā-puravaresvara (sovereign of Anmakundā city), the lord of the great kings, doer of good, adorned with humility, the prosperous Mahāmandalesvara.

In (?) Anmakondapattana munanda, where there is joyousness of stories of happiness (buna) buseyu chununda, in Saka year 1064, vanenti in the year Chitra bhānu pukha 12, Vudhavára (Wednesday or Thursday ?) munāndu tanashera Rudresvara Munu, Sri Vásudeva, Sri Súryadeva, were established (anupratishthā seyinche).

I praise Hari as Varáha, to whom, at the time of upheaving, the land dashed the skies with high waves, and yet the waters of the seven oceans reached only the point of the nail of his feet ; the point of whose tusk was a cottage in which were placed the three worlds as a drop of water; the rays from whose hairpits (?) were like Brahmándas (Brahmá's eggs).

2. O Heramba ! mayest thou be propitious to me, thou who art the asylum of the collections of the smelling organs of the bees, attracted by the growing scent of the masses of opening buds of the Mogra entangled in thy long tresses ; thou who art the seat of the intense splendour of that lustrous tooth the unparalleled majesty of which (splendour) completely extinguishes that of the teeth of the .

3. May Sarasvati ever reside in my mouth ! she who is like a mother ; who nourishes as it were with the waves of the ocean of milk ; who is fair, as if created by the moon ; and like a white statue, made of balls of rubbed sandalwood.

4. Achintendravara, the disciple of Advayámrita Yati, the chief of the Bháradvája gotra ; intimately familiar with the ceremonial of the Vedas ; a prominent character, and the son of Sri Ramesvara Díkshita, praises with zeal (or at the request of the Yati?) the genealogy of the good Rudranaresvara.

5. In the Kàkatiya race was born a king named Srimat Tribhuvana Malla, a chief among kings who reduce the wives of their powerful enemies to widowhood.

6. Sri Malla-deva (*i. e.* Tribhuvana Malla) shone with

splendour in the three worlds, a frontal ornament of the assembly of the Kákatyá kings ; a source of agony to his enemies ; a daily giver of wealth to proper objects ; a giver of delight to the hearts of women ; an uprooter of the masses of the wicked ; a worshipper of the brilliant lotus of the feet of Síva ; who has reduced kings to submission.

7. His son became distinguished as Prolí-rája, the seat of the ambrosia of contemplation of the pair of lotuses of Síva's feet. The spoiler of the prosperity (Saubhágya) of the beauties (wives) of his enemies, the destroyer of the pride of the chiefs of his enemies ; a lord of Lanká in respect to the pride of fighting without fear, in all directions.

8. He, in battle (Prolí-rája), an elephant bound down in an instant, Srimat Tailapa-deva, the head ornament of the Chálukyas, who was skilled in riding elephants, whose deep attention was continually directed to war, and who was like a lotus. He (Prolí-rája), celebrated for cutting off the bulb of his enemies, in an instant released him (Tailapa) on being pleased with his faithfulness.

9. He also bound down and released Govinda-rája, skilful beyond comparison in hewing the face of the forces by the sharp edge of his irresistible battle-axe, and gave the kingdom to King Udaya. He (Prolí-rája), invincible to hundreds of enemies, without pity, despoiler of (Govinda-rája) in the battle-field as if in sport, a master (or teacher) of the vows of heroes, this Prolí-rája in anger attacked and shaved the

10. head of Gúdhaka (?), the shameless lord of the great Mantra-kúta city, who bore the insignia of the boar on his breast, and who, when called on to fight by the king, ran away like a lamb to his city.

11. And, seconaly, he (Prolí-rája) resisted Jagaddeva, whose beauty was like that of a god on earth, and who, accompanied by many Mandalika-rájas, had laid siege to the city of Anumakonda, and who, being unable to accomplish his

object, retired in an instant. How is it possible to describe sufficiently the glory of the prosperous Prolí-rája ?

12. His chief queen was Muppama, endowed with virtues, with fame like the moonlight in the Sarat season (October and November); with brilliant beauty beyond comparison; virtuous like Kausalyá and Jánakí, and great as Kunti, Lakshmí, Paulomí (the wife of Indra) and Chandíka.

13. Of her was born for the good of the world a son named Srí Rudra-deva, a sprout of the chief bulb of supreme joy. Was he not Cupid himself? was he not Skanda, the son of Siva or Jayanta, or Jishnu (Indra), the holder of the Vajra (thunderbolt), or Hari, or as Asvini Kumára ? A humble devotee of Srí Girisa.

14. This Rudra king, defeated—repeatedly compelled to fly away by hundreds of bright arrows, as if in sport, and as Arjuna defeated Karna—Doma, of exceedingly elegant prowess; and practised in leading (*lit.* riding) masses of tall and excellent cavalry; and returned to his city, which contained everything that is remarkable.

15. [The transliteration of this verse is unsatisfactory, from imperfections in the copy, but I glean from it that Rudra-deva defeated Srimat Meliga-deva, ruler of a country called Sripalavása.]

16. The frightful mongoose Bhima overcame the cobra named Gokarna, who boasted of his bravery, and was of low family. In that state he was instantly destroyed, just as a house-mouse would be killed in great darkness by a young cat.

17. The soul of Chodádyá-rája, an ornament of his race, was frightened by the lustrous weapon of paralyzing fear produced from the prowess of Srimat Rudra (the king), and departed to the higher regions as if from madness or forgetfulness, as if pursued by the great Bhúta (spirits), as if from agony and confusion.

18. From sheer fright of the valorous king Srí Rudra-

deva, King Tailapa was afflicted with diarrhoea and became emaciated. And although this resulted in death, Bhima ventured to succeed to the fleeting royal dignity.

19. Just as a young jackall, surrounded by many younger ones, imagining himself to be a king, despises the rest of the world, and filling with his cries all the quarters, attempting to measure his strength with a lion, is nowhere at the fright of the shaking of the mane.

20. So Bhima, the vilest of kings, a brute among men, the husband of his step-mother, who killed an eminent brother at dinner, intent upon attempts at swallowing the skies, ascended the point of the great peak of the mountain of pride, increased by envy, ventured to defy the terrible Sri Rudra-deva.

21. Thereon, Rudra-varesvara, hearing of the wealth of king Bhima, and having heard of his wicked acts from secret agents (or emissaries), commenced to make preparations for a successful expedition. He who was never opposed by an enemy with all the lines of his forces, with the palas (?) all armed, with joy quickly proceeded for Sri.....  
.....At the time of marching on his successful expedition, and at the beating of the Bheri (drum), the excitement (*lit.* sorrow) produced from its sounds, the masses of clouds dropped down, the earth trembled, the mountains shook. Kúrma (the tortoise) was troubled ; Sesha (the serpent) became insensible ; the Diggajas (elephants of the eight quarters) became distressed.

22. During the king's progress on the occasion of the unparalleled battle, the rájas frenzied and looking in all directions, when their ears filled by the deep reverberations of the Bheri, began to tremble through fear. From the fear of Rudra-deva, abandoned their treasures and homes, their horses and elephants on the road, their relatives at half-way, their families in the forts.

The king, having rapidly advanced a few steps, and like the

pounding of corn, the fire of his anger intensified by the knitting of his eyebrows, performed a (*homa*) sacrifice by offering the ancient city of Vardhamána as a first holocaust.

23. Bhima was filled with terror at the sight of the king, as Bhima (one of the Pándavas) was, at the sight of King Duryodhana (of the Kauravas); with trembling body, having abandoned everything, with his brother (or brothers), mother, and wife, shamelessly fled to the jungle.

24. The king pursued him, and burnt, as Hanuman burnt Lanká, the minor town of Chodádaya (or Bodádaya), (a chief) comparable to the city of the gods, beautiful by the amorous sports of numbers of women.

25. He cut down the jungle remarkable for its inaccessible entrances, and in the centre of the city he constructed a wonderful lake.

26. How is it possible to describe the heroism of Rudra-deva, the Lord of the earth? the destroyer of the pride of the small family of Kshatriyas; the possessor of the wealth of the whole world; the main support of the wealth produced from the womb of the illustrious ocean of milk of the family of (King) Kandúrádaya Chodavansa (of the Choda dynasty), just as Ráma (Parasu Ráma) strung a line of enemies hewn by his battle-axe.

27. Seeing the march of the king's forces, the enemies fled, and the earth was pounded by the hoofs of high-prancing steeds, and the sky was filled by numbers of beautiful umbrellas, and the eight quarters were occupied by masses of Chámaras beautiful like a number of full-moons.

28. Rájas, like Bhima, living between Kánchi-mandala and to the Vindhya (mountain), of whom Rudra-deva was informed daily, having a vision of the assemblage of the wives of the immortals, fell into a trance for a long time, and, looking up for support, returned to King Rudra.

29. I praise the king Rudra. He made hundreds of wise men, the main vessel of his magnificence, and yet pride

was not permitted to enter his heart. The ocean making Sri Purushottama (Vishnu) a vessel of its wealth, wakens the earth by the noise of its waves.

[This verse is only one-half.]

30. The king conducts himself in this world like Satānanda (Brahmā), the latter being Nyagbhūtikṛita-rāja hāsanikara, *i.e.* the one who has placed under him rows of royal geese (Brahmā's Vāhana is represented as being carried by geese); the same adjective belongs to the former; as one who placed royal geese (rājas) under him; Brahma is Padmodbhavaikāśraya, the chief support (of the world), born from the lotus; the king is the same, as he is the chief support of the prosperity of Padma (the goddess of wealth). Brahmā is Kalpākriptagati, one who is destined to live as long as the Kalpa; the king is also Kalpākriptagati, *i.e.* one having proper and certain knowledge.

31. Rudra is Kesava (Krishna) himself; the former is Satyāsaktamanā, *i.e.* one whose mind is intent on truth; Kesava is the same, *i.e.* one whose mind is devoted to Satyā (*i.e.* to Satyabhāmā, his wife). The one is Nirastanarakaklesaha, *i.e.* he who has removed the miseries of hell. Kesava is the same, one who removed the terrors of Narakāsura. The one is Lakshmyāśraya, the abode of Lakshmi (wealth); the other, the support (husband) of Lakshmi.

The one is Prithvibhrīta, the protector of the earth; so is Kesava. The one is Anantabhoganilaya, the abode of infinite enjoyment; so is Kesava, who sleeps on the body of the serpent Ananta. The one is ever Dvijendrapriyāha, the lover of the best of Brahmins; so is Kesava, ever the friend of Dvijendra, the king of birds (garuda). The one is Dushzarishā vimardanāha, the remover of evil calamities; the other, the destroyer of the wicked Arishā (a giant). The one fulfils the wishes of the learned; the other who grants the prayers of the gods (sumanasāmbhyarthitārtha-prada). The one

is gotraproddharanaha, i.e. one who raises his family to distinction ; the other raised gotra (the Govardhana hill). The one is Sudarsanadharaka, i.e. he who holds good doctrines or who looks excellent ; the other is the holder of Sudarsana, wheel or disc.

32. Rudra-deva appears beautiful with the numerous rows of neck-laces of the pearls (drops) dropping from the forehead of the tall elephants in the incomparable battlefield ; he shone like heaps of the petals of blue lotuses, like the beautiful eyes of the wife (Psyche) of Cupid, the god who was in terror of Rudra's (Siva's) anger.

33. Whilst Rudra-deva ruled over the earth, the title of Rāja was given only to the moon, not to the greatest among men. Roughness existed only in the Chandratilak, not in the rich. Brightness existed only in the sun, not in the multitude of enemies. The catching of hair was confined to the act of copulation (not in fighting). The holding of sticks was confined to Yatis (ascetics); no *danda* or fine was exacted from the mass of the people. Disputation was confined to the Sāstras (                    ) not in social intercourse. There was no *mathana* (punishing) of the wicked ; it was reserved only for the Arni wood (by rubbing which, fire is produced for the Agnihotra and Vedic sacrifices).

34. The extent of his charity was limited only by the relief of poverty ; of his might, by the destruction of his enemy ; of his wisdom, by that of four-faced (Brahmā) ; of his good qualities, by infinitude ; of his brightness, by the heating of the sun ; of his fame by the three worlds. His attention to Dharma was without limit, and his mind was brilliant.

35. Ocean ! although thou art spread everywhere ; although thou art exalted ; although thou art the single support of the great ; although thou art the birthplace of Sri (wealth) ; although thy heart is inclined to favour ; although thou art the abode of gems, yet thou wert drunken by the

pitcher-born (Agasti) and became Sattith. But the king Rudra (to whom the adjectives applied to the ocean are also applicable) is not as thou art ; and vainly do not try to rival him.

36. Verily Rudra-deva was formed by the lotus-born (Brahmá-deva), selecting with joy—literally, from the Kalpa Vriksha ; greatness from him of Golden-body's peak (Meru mountain) ; courage from the son of Dasaratha (Ráma) ; strength, from Purabhida (Indra) ; gaiety (or depth) from the ocean ; beauty from him with the (Dragon) Makara flag (Cupid) ; love of learning from the teacher of the Suras (Brihaspati).

37. The moon at present appears beautiful as the lily in his ocean of milk of success. The sun appears like the expanded lotus ; the moving cloud (*lit.* sky) like the blue lotus ; the stars, like clear bubbles ; the quarters, like the coast ; the three worlds, like the series of waves. And how wonderful ! Success to Sri Rudra-deva !

38. Imagine that to the successful prosperity approaching the victorious Rudra-deva, and to the fame proceeding from him to the distant quarters across the stream of blood, having flesh for shining mud, the fallen heads of enemies cut off by the sword in battle served as stepping stones ; and the spasmodic (*lit.* dancing) headless bodies served as little boats.

39. His city named Anumakonda is like the capital of the goddess of wealth, and prospers from the sword and battle-axe residing there permanently. It is rati-mati (beloved) like the city of Cupid, which is rati-matí (having Psyche in it) and full of Sringára (gay life). Like the city of the great Indra with Jishnu, Vishnu (Anumkonda having temples of Jishnu and Vishnu) and the sports of Rambhá (Rambhá vilásá) whilst Anumkonda had Rambhá vilásá, *i.e.*, abundance of plantain trees.

40. In it women are Makaraketu's (Cupid's) favourite residence (*lit.* capital city), whose eyes are like the petals of the full blue lily, whose bodies are spare, and who are the frontal ornaments of the most beautiful women in the three worlds, and who are bowed down by high and full breasts.

41. Where in the houses of the chief of the twice-born, the parrots, though prevented, commit to memory, along with the little boy, the Vedas, with all their Angas and all their deliberations with their Padas and Krama, and which (the Vedas) are the objects of study by the virtuous.

42. Where the five words of young parrots "picked up from expressions dropt during amatory intercourse, and which (words) are like the full moon to the tempestuous ocean of the excitement of desire of gallants in the habitations of harlots, are in daytime heard in all directions.

43. The body of cavalry of Sri Rudra-deva does not jump across the sky, only because it is the footmark (Pada) of Vishnu. It does not touch the earth with its feet, because it (the earth) is a god (cow). It fills all the quarters in the battle-field by its prancing ; threatening the enemies every day, it causes them to fly and slays them.

44. His horses were of beautiful make, of low voice, and possessed of all the illustrious qualities mentioned in the various treatises on the horse, with a body full of agility and strength, hardy and trained in the five kinds of paces.

45. His extensive dominions reached the shores of the ocean (*lit.* salt sea) and to the Sri Saila mountains in the south, as far as the western countries, as far as Katak (in the east). On the north, as far as the fine country of Malyavanta (the country in the neighbourhood).

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## TRANSCRIPT OF RUDRA-DEVA'S INSCRIPTION.

ओं खस्तिश्रीर्विजयोभ्युदयश्च भवतु । खस्ति समधिगत-  
 पंचमहाश्वमहामण्डले श्वर अन्नकुण्डापुरवरेश्वरपरममाहे-  
 श्वरपतिहितचरितविनयविभूषणश्रीमन्महामण्डले श्वरकाक-  
 तीयसद्देवराच्चुलविजयराज्यमुत्तरोत्तराभिद्विप्रवर्धमानमा-  
 चन्द्राकंतारसुगाअन्नकोंडपट्टनमुनंदुसुखसंकथाविनोदंबुनराज्यं  
 बुसेयुचुतुण्ड शकवर्षमुलु १०६४ वनेंटिचिवभानुसंवत्सरमापुख  
 १२ वद्धवारसुनांडुतनष्टिरक्षदेश्वरमुनुश्रीवासुदेवरश्रीसूर्यदे-  
 वरानुप्रतिष्ठासेपिंचे ॥

यस्योत्तुङ्गतरंगताडितवियत्सप्तार्णवौदं जलं पाहांशुष्ठनखा-  
 ग्रहन्नमभवद्भूमंडलोज्ञारणे ॥ दंष्ट्राकोटिकुटोरकोटरगतं त्रैलो-  
 क्यमबिवंदुवद्भ्रह्माण्डाइव रोमकन्दरकरा वंदे वराहं हरिं ॥  
 १ ॥ श्रीहेरम्बविलम्बिकुन्तलमिलमल्लोदललुड्मलत्रातोजु-  
 च्छितगन्धलुव्यमधुपद्माणोलरस्यासदं । सोतप्रीतमनाभवल-  
 मिह मे दिग्दन्तिदन्तद्युति प्रोद्धामोदलनैकविक्रमलसहंताति-  
 कान्त्याश्रयः ॥ २ ॥ भातेव दुर्घलहरीभिरुदंतौव दुर्घोद-  
 धेरम्बतदीधितिनिर्मितेव । श्रीखण्डपिण्डपरिपाण्डुरपुत्तलौव  
 वक्त्रेवस्तवविरतं तु सरस्तती नः ॥ ३ ॥ भारद्वाजकुलश्रियः  
 परित्वृढः श्रीतक्रियाकर्मठः श्रीरामेश्वरदीद्वितीजनयिता यस्य  
 च्छिवावग्रणोः । सोचिन्तेन्द्रवरोदयांमृतयतेः शिष्योयतेः अङ्ग-  
 या श्रीमद्वद्वनरेश्वरस्य सुमतेर्वंशावलिं वर्णये ॥ ४ ॥ श्रीमत्  
 विभुवनमल्लो राजा काकत्यवंशसंभूतः । प्रबलरिपुवर्गनारौ-  
 वैष्वविधायकाचार्यः ॥ ५ ॥ श्रीकाकत्यनरेन्द्रहुल्लितिलको

वैरीन्द्रहृत्तापकः सत्पाते वसुदायकः प्रतिदिनं कान्तामनोर-  
 चकः । दुष्टानां च यदूषकः पुरहरः श्रीपाहपद्मार्च्चको व्यग्-  
 भूतौकृतनायकस्त्वभुवने श्रीमल्लहेवो बभौ ॥५॥ तत्पुत्रः शिव-  
 पाहपद्मयुगलध्यानामृतानन्दभू लुण्ठाकोरिपुसुन्दरीजन महा-  
 सौभाग्यसंपच्छ्रियः । प्रोलोराज इति प्रसिद्धिभगमहैरौन्द्रह-  
 र्पापहो निःशंकप्रधनपृथ्वनमहाहंकारलंकेष्वरः ॥६॥ हस्य-  
 रीहस्यकर्मकर्मठगतिं चालुक्यचूडामणिं शश्वद्युद्धनिवज्ञगद्वृ-  
 भतिं शुद्धे बबन्धन्नश्यात् । श्रीमत्तैलपद्मेवमस्तुजमिव स्तंवेर-  
 मस्तं द्वयात् प्रख्यातोरिपुकण्ठखण्डनविधौ भक्त्यानुरागात्महौ  
 ॥७॥ योकुण्ठोरिश्वतैरकुण्ठपरशुश्रान्त्याग्रधारोल्लसज्जारापा-  
 तनिपातनैकचतुरं (गो) विन्दराजाहृयं । बध्वोन्मुच्य तद्वोदय  
 च्छितिभृते राज्यं ददौ लौलया लुण्ठाकोविद्यस्य तस्य समरे  
 सहौरदौक्षागुरुः ॥८॥ ब्रुहेनोङ्गुरमन्त्रकूटनगरीनाथस्तु यो  
 निखपो गृहः खण्डितएव मुण्डितशिराः क्रोडांकवचस्त्वालः ।  
 एडोडिशकवत्पत्तलायनपरो जातो गतः स्वां पुरीमाहतोपि  
 नृपेश्वरस्य पुरतः प्रोलेन युद्धाय यत् ॥९॥ अन्यच्चानुभ-  
 कोण्ठनामनगरौ संवेष्ट्र यों स्थितो नानामण्डलिकान्वितो  
 भुवि जगद्वेवत्सद्वेवप्रभः ॥ स्तव्यसांभितएव कार्यकरणेशक्तः  
 द्वयान्निर्गत श्रीमत्प्रोलनृपस्य तस्य जयिनः किं ब्रूमहै गौर-  
 वं ॥१०॥ हैवौमुष्पमनामधेयसहिता यस्यागुणाः सारकाः  
 कोर्त्तिः शारदचन्द्रिकेव विलसत्कान्तेस्तु नैवोपमा ॥ कौशल्येव च  
 जानकीव च सतीकुन्तीव पद्मोव सा पौलोभीव च चंडिकेव च वरा  
 तस्याभवज्ञामिनी ॥११॥ तस्यास्तस्य सुतीजनीह परमानन्दै-

ककांदांकुरः कामः किं नलकूबरः शिवसुतः स्कंदो जयंतीथवा ॥  
 जिष्णु वंजुधरीथ वा हरिरथं दस्तौ कुमारौ नतो भक्तः श्री-  
 गिरिशे हिताय जगतः श्रीसद्देवो लृपः ॥ १३ ॥ लंगन्तुङ्गतु-  
 रंगपुङ्गवचयारोहक्रमे कर्मठंडोमं चारुपराक्रमक्रमभरं भंत-  
 कासञ्ज्ञीलया । कर्णं पार्थइवामलैः शरश्चतैर्विद्राव्य विद्राव्य  
 योलैभेसर्वविशेषयुक्तनगरग्रामं सहदोलृपः ॥ १४ ॥ … विडंवि-  
 डंबरभरहोदचमं च्छाभृतां दुर्वारोद्गुरवीरभिवससयाहनैक-  
 होचागुरुं । श्रीमन्मेलिगदेवसंगसमयप्रोद्भूतदर्पणपहं प्राप्त-  
 श्रौपलवासदेशविभवश्रीसद्देवः सदा ॥ १५ ॥ भैमेन भौम-  
 मकुलेन कुलेन हीनो ग्रस्तो भमार उहमूषकवत् चणोन ।  
 भार्जारडिश्चकवरेण महान्यकारे गोकर्णनामभुजगो भुवि  
 शूरमानी ॥ १६ ॥ श्रीमदुद्धराक्रमोद्भूतभयव्यामोहनाखगो-  
 लसच्छखवस्तसमस्तगीवविलसच्चोडाद्यच्छापतेः । उच्चन्ता  
 इव विस्मृता इव महाभूताभिभूता इव प्रोद्भान्ता इव संकुला  
 इव तदा प्राणाः प्रयाताद्विं ॥ १७ ॥ यातिपि तैलपतृपे इव-  
 मस्य भौत्या सर्वातिसारकवलीश्चतगावयष्टौ । श्रीसद्देवतृपतेः  
 पृथुविक्रमस्य भौमोपि राज्यपदवीं चणिकां स लेभे ॥ १८ ॥  
 एकोजम्बुकडिश्चकोल(घु)तरैः संवै(ष्टि)तोजंबुकै राजाहंक्रति-  
 धिक्रृतच्छितिलस्तिंहेन संसर्वते । फेलाराकुलगर्जितैर्सुख-  
 रयन्सर्वादिश्चोविहृत्वा यातः क्वापि सटाविधूननभरैः कंठीरव-  
 स्यातुरः ॥ १९ ॥ तद्भज्ञीमनृपाधमोनरपशुर्मातुः सपद्ग्राः पति-  
 हन्ता भाववरस्य भोजनविधौ भौमेनसंसर्वते । आकाशग्रसन  
 प्रयासनिरतः श्रीसद्देवेन यस्सर्वावद्वितगर्वं पर्वतमहाशृङ्गाग-

मारोहति ॥ २० ॥ शुला भीमनृपस्य राज्यविभवं चारैश्च दुष्टे-  
 ष्टिं श्रीमद्वद्वरेष्वरोद्ध विजयप्रारम्भसम्भारभाक् । जातो  
 जातरिपुः समग्रपृथतनामालापनीयो ततः सद्यस्तजपलान्वितः  
 प्रसुहितः शौघ्रं श्रियनिर्गतः ॥ २१ ॥ यस्योद्यहिजयप्रयाण-  
 समये गच्छीरभेरीभरज्ञांकारोज्ञवसंभ्रमव्यतिकरव्याजृम्भणीहे-  
 गतः । भ्रश्यन्त्यभ्रचया चलन्त्यवनयो भ्रास्यन्त्यभी भ्रधरा:  
 कूर्मस्तास्यति सुहृत्ति हिरसनः कुत्यन्तिदिक्कुञ्जराः ॥ २२ ॥  
 कोशान् गेहेष्वसुज्ञन् पथिकरितुरगान् बास्ववानर्द्धमार्गे दुर्गे-  
 व्यन्तःपुराणि प्रतिरवचकिता सद्वद्वैवस्य भौत्वा । यस्योद्योगे  
 भ्रमन्तः समसमयसमारम्भगच्छीरभेरीभांकाराकीर्णकणज्वरम्-  
 रतरलाः प्रेचिताशः चितौशः ॥ २३ ॥ गला जवान्निचतु-  
 राणि पदानि राजा सस्य खंडनमिव प्रथमाहुतिं वा । भ्र-  
 भज्ञवीच्छणविवर्द्धितकोशवज्ञौ यद्वर्द्धमाननगरोऽप्रथमां जुह्वाव  
 ॥ २४ ॥ यस्याच्चिवीच्छणभयाच्चकितस्तभौमो दुर्योधनस्य नृप-  
 तेरिव विच्छुलाङ्गः । खभाटमादवनितासहितः समग्रलक्ष्मीं  
 विहाय वनमेव यद्यौ विलच्छः ॥ २५ ॥ ततपृष्ठतोनुच्च जगाम  
 दह्वाह राजाचो(वो)डाद्यस्य नगरीमगरीयसो तां । लक्ष्मा-  
 मिवामरपुरीसदृशीं मृगाच्छीशेणीविलासलितामिव चांजने-  
 यः ॥ २६ ॥ लुलाव च वनं तस्य दुर्गमार्गलविभ्रमं । तडाग-  
 मकरोत्तर पुरमध्येज्ञतं महत् ॥ २७ ॥ कंदूराद्यचोडवंश-  
 विलसत्चौराव्यिगर्भोज्ञवत्पद्मैकाश्वरसद्वद्वैवदृपतेः किं वर्ख्यते  
 विक्रमः । चुट्टच्छावकुलोन्नतिच्छयक्षतः सर्वावनिश्चौमृतो राम-  
 स्येव कुठारखण्डतरिपुत्रातस्य (प्रोतस्य) पृष्ठौपतेः ॥ २८ ॥



गुणग्रामस्तु संख्यावधिः । तेजोभास्तुरतापनावधि यशोराशिस्तु  
 रुद्रस्थ यस्तैलोक्यात्रमणावधिनिरवधिर्भर्मं मतिः शोभते ॥३७॥  
 प्राप्ताशोपि महत्तरोपि महतामेकाश्रयोपि श्रियो जन्मस्थान-  
 मपि प्रसन्नहृष्टपि लं रत्नधामापि सन् । पौतः कुम्भसमुद्घवेन  
 जलधिः । द्वारहस्तमुद्ग्रीयतो नैवं रुद्रनरेष्वरोदयमसुना सर्वां  
 हृथा माक्षयाः ॥ ३८ ॥ औदृश्यं सुरशाखिनः शिखरिणः  
 खण्डाश्वितेर्गैरवं धैर्यं दाशरथेर्वलं पुरभिदो गाश्वीर्यमन्धीनिधेः ।  
 सौन्दर्यं मकरध्वजात् सरगुरोर्विद्यारत्तौ कौतुकादाहायाबृज-  
 समुद्घवेन रचितः श्रीरुद्रदेवो ध्रुवं ॥ ३९ ॥ स्फायलैरवतौ  
 दुरंभुजपतिस्थां बुजत्यस्वरं लोलं नीलसरोजति स्फुटयशीदुष्ठो  
 दधौ संप्रति । ज्योतींषि स्फुटबुद्भुविहरितः कूलन्ति लोका-  
 स्त्वयश्चूहीचिचयन्ति यस्त्वा जयति श्रीरुद्रदेवोद्घतं ॥ ४० ॥  
 पादन्यासशिलाशिरांसि रमरे कृत्तानि खड्गेन यच्छतुणां  
 पतितानि मांसविलसत्यंकेषु शके द्वाहं । रक्तस्त्रीतसि रुद्रदेव  
 जयिनो द्रव्यलकवन्धाः प्रवा आयान्त्वा विजयश्रियश्चासविधंकीर्तः  
 प्रयात्या दिशः ॥ ४१ ॥ तस्यास्तेनुमकोण्डनामनगरी श्रीराज-  
 धानीव या चत्रोदयस्तद्खण्डखण्डपरशुव्याज्युश्शणीज्युश्चिता ।  
 कन्दर्पस्थ पुरौव सा रतिमतौ शृङ्गारभारान्विता माहेन्द्रीव च  
 जिष्णुविष्णुसहिता रक्षा विलासीर्जिता ॥ ४२ ॥ यत्र स्त्रियो  
 मकरकेतनराजधान्य आनीलनीरजपलाशदृशः कृशांगग्रः । वै-  
 लोक्यसुन्दरदृशां तिलकायमाना आपौनतुङ्गकुचकुम्भभराल-  
 सांगग्रः ॥ ४३ ॥ यत्र दिजेन्द्रभवनेषु निवार्यमाणाः कौरा-  
 पठन्ति पठवो बटुभि समेताः । सर्वाङ्गसम्भूतसमस्तविचारचा-

रुचारिवचर्चितपदक्रमयुक्तवेदान् ॥ ४५ ॥ वेश्यागृहेषु सुरतो-  
 त्सवजातचेष्टागृह्णतुकारिशुकशावकचारुगृह्णः । सर्वादिशी  
 मुखरवन्ति दिवा विटानां कन्दपदपंतरलार्णवपूर्णचन्द्राः ॥ ४५ ॥  
 नातिक्रामति वैष्णवं पदभिति यां गौरितिक्षमाभभिमां पादै-  
 सच्छति नो तुरङ्गमचयः श्रीसद्गैवस्थ यः । सर्वाभ्यः परि-  
 पूरयन्विजयते नृत्येन संभीषयच्छत्रून्युडमहीतले प्रतिदिनं  
 विद्रावयन्वारयन् ॥ ४६ ॥ अतिरमणशरीरायीच नौचस्त्राढगः  
 सकलतुरगशास्त्रोङ्गासिसज्जचणाढगः । जवभरमरिताङ्गाः स-  
 लसंपन्नगाक्वा अतिचिरतरजीवाः पञ्चधारास्तुरङ्गाः ॥ ४७ ॥  
 राज्यं प्राज्यं लवणजलधेस्तौरपर्यन्तमस्य श्रीशैलान्तां प्रच-  
 रति सदाइच्छिणायां समग्रां । प्रातीच्यान्तां कटकनिकटस्था-  
 यिनीं राज्यलक्ष्मीः कौवीर्याशातटविलसिते माल्यवन्तप्रदेशे ॥  
 ४८ ॥ अर्चनार्थभिहृदत्तवामहन्तित्वेसवलनामखिटकं । श्री  
 महेश्वरविश्वौरिणो स्थिरं सद्गैवनृपतिर्मतस्तां ॥ ४९ ॥

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## XVII.

*Revised Translation of the Inscription on the Bhitarī Lāt.*

THE destroyer of all kings, an unsurpassable warrior in the world, whose victory is saturated by the four seas ; comparable to Dhanadava, Varuna, Indra, Antaka ; whose battle-axe is deadly ; the giver of crores of gold (pieces) and of innumerable cows affording hundreds of benefits ; the performer of the Asvamedha (horse-sacrifice) neglected for a long time : the great-grandson of Mahárájá Sri Gupta ; the grandson of Mahárájá Sri Ghatotkacha ; the son of Mahárájádhirája Sri Chandragupta ; the son of Lichchhavi's daughter ; born of Mahádeví Kumáradevi, (was) Mahárájádhirája Sri Samudragupta ; his son, born of his married wife Mahádeví (Queen) Datta-Devi (was) Mahápratiratha (the great unsurpassable warrior), Parama Bhágavata (the eminent devotee of Bhagavána[God]), Mahárájádhirája (the great king of kings) Sri Chandragupta (2nd) his son, intent on his (father's) feet, was born of Mahádeví (Queen) Dhruva-Devi Parama Bhágavata Mahárájádhirája Sri Kumára Gupta, whose talent and natural strength became renowned ; whose glory is great ; the son of this great lord of this earth was by name Skandagupta, whose wealth was like that of the gods : on the lotus of whose feet lay hundreds of hostile kings, whose glory is extensive ; the lord of the earth ; powerful in the strength of his arms in the world ; an unparalleled hero in the gupta dynasty, whose great glory is spread in all directions ; who by his good qualities suffered not the virtuous state of the righteous to be destroyed, and caused his soul .....to attain (a high state ?) ; who gradually, by great strength, eminent virtues, prowess, and by daily fighting battles, having obtained all he wished of the enemies intent upon gaining victory [*unintelligible*], bent upon re-establishing the lost prospects of the family, made the ground his bed for three months, and having taken (Pushya) mitra, whose strength and treasures

had been eminently on the increase, he placed (his) left foot on the seat of the feet of kings (*i.e.* he conquered other kings). By those who attack with impetuosity, and by those the prowess of whose arms is annihilated .....by mercy and bravery. Whose life of pure (white) glory is duly sung with joy by young and old in all quarters. Who conquered his enemies by the prowess of his arms. Who, after his father went to heaven. He recovered the lost wealth of the kingdom, as Krishna, after destroying his enemies, approached (his mother) Devaki, with joy he repaired to his mother, who was full of tears, to say that he had conquered .....Having repaired the ruined Upendra-chalita (a temple of Vāmana, an incarnation of Vishnu) : with his two arms, having conquered the earth, and having shown daily mercy to the distressed ; whose beauty was every day like that of the full moon, was neither filled with pride nor with despair. The community of A'ryas entertained him with songs, praises, and hundreds of poems.....In battle, had come to fight with Hūnas ?—with both arms and trembling of the earth created fearful whirlpools.....arrows to enemies .....distinguished.....in the ear, the sound of the Ganges... .....father's fame.....with ingenuity.....the image of Sāringana Vishnu was made by Supratita ? Having established this image of Vishnu here, he whose government is fully established, for the increase of the merits of his father, gave this village (in charity). This image of Bhagavána to whom here (?).....Both were given by the meritorious Skandagupta for the increase of the merit of his father.

सर्वराजोच्छेदः एविव्याभप्रतिरथस्य चतुर्हृदधिसलिलखदितयश्च से धनदद्व-  
र्षणम्भान्तक.....क्वान्तपरशोः अवशतानेकगोहिरण्यप्रदस्य चिरोत्पत्ताश्च-  
मेधाइत्तुर्भवाराजश्रीयुप्मपौत्रस्य महाराजश्रीघटोत्कचपौत्रस्य उहाराजाधि-  
राजश्रीचन्द्रयुप्मपुत्रस्य लिङ्गविदौहिवस्य महादेवां कुमारदेव्यामुत्पत्तस्य  
महाराजाविराजश्रीक्षुद्रयुप्मस्य उलसात्मरिण्टहीतो महादेव्यामुद्दत्त देव्यामु-

त्वं—सहाप्रतिरथ—परमभागवतमहाराजाविराजश्चीचन्द्रशुभस्तस्य पुवस्त्वा—  
दा तुष्ठातो चहादेव्यां श्रवदेव्याष्टत्वः परमभागवतमहाराजाविराजश्चीकुमार—  
युभस्तस्य

प्रथितष्टुभतिः स्वभावशक्तेः  
श्युयशसः श्यिवीपतेः (सुरर्ची)  
(रिपुजन) शतपादपद्मवती  
प्रथितथशः श्यिवीपतिः हुतोयम्  
जगति भुजवलाद्यो शुभ्यं शैकचीरः  
प्रथितविपुलधारां नामतस्कन्दश्युभः  
सुचरितचरितानां येन दृत्तेन दृत्तं  
न विहृतमयचात्माभा.....  
(विपुल) वलसुनीतैर्विक्रमेण क्रमेण  
प्रतिदिवनमभियोगदीप्सितं येन लब्धा  
स्वभिमतविजिगीषाप्रोद्यातानां परेषां  
प्रथितितमवदोके संविधानोपदेशः  
विचलितकुललक्ष्मीस्तंभनाथोद्यतेन  
क्षितिलक्ष्मीनोये येन नीता (त्रिमासी)  
सप्तदितवलकोशम्बुद्धयमित्रं उड्हीत्वा  
क्षितिपचरणपौडे स्यापितोवाचपादः  
प्रसभमहुपमद्विष्वं स्वाशस्त्राप्रसापैः  
..... (हु येन) क्षान्तिशौर्यं निहृतम्  
चरितमसलकीर्तंगर्भीयते यस्य शुभ्यं  
दिशिदित्वि परित्पृष्ठेराकुमारं भुवैः  
पितरिदिवसुपेते विष्टु तां राज्यलक्ष्मीं  
भुजवलविजितारियः प्रतिष्ठाय भूयः  
जितभितिपरिसोपान्नातरं सास्तनेवां  
हतरिपुरिव वाष्पोदेवकीमयपेतः  
..... त्वयेन्द्रचलितं भग्नं प्रतिष्ठाय यो

बाहुभ्यासवनी विजित्य हि जनेष्वार्तेषु खत्या दद्यां  
 नोत्प्रिक्तो न च विभितः प्रतिदिनं (पूर्णेन्द्रमा) नद्यसि-  
 त्तु(नै)र्यस्य समागतस्य समरे दोधर्यां धराकम्पते-  
 भीमावर्त्तकरस्य शत्रुषु शर.....  
 .....प्रस्थापितोर्वी ...  
 .....तत्त्वे शोलेषु गाङ्गांच्छनि.....  
 ...पितुः कीर्ति ..  
 ...प्रतिभावाचित्प्रतिभाव तस्य शार्विण्यः हुप्रतीतश्चकारेभा-  
 .....  
 ...हैनं प्रतिष्ठाय हुप्रतिष्ठितशासनः  
 यामनेनं स विद्वे पितुः उरव्याभिवृज्य  
 अतो भगवतो शूर्तिंभिमां यच्चात्र (संवित)  
 उभयं निर्दिदेशासौ पितुः उरव्याय पुण्ड्रधीरिति ।

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## XVIII.

*Revised Inscription on the Delhi "Iron" (Metal) Pillar at Kootub Minar, with Remarks:*

He, on whose arm glory is written with the sword, when he repeatedly turned back his combined enemies in the battle-field in the Vangas (Bengal?); who, having swum across the seven mouths of the Sindhu (Indus), conquered the Bālhikas in battle, the breezes of whose prowess still waft incense to the South Sea; who, having left the earth (*go*) as if in sorrow, resorted to the other *go* (heaven); who went to the land of his deserts (actions) with his (bodily) form, but with his glory remained on this earth; who destroyed the remnant of his enemies; whose heroism, like a great smouldering fire in a great jungle, does not yet leave the earth; and who by the prowess of his arms secured in this world an incomparable empire for a long time; whose countenance was beautiful like the full moon; this Lord of the earth, named Chandra, having by means of faith in Vishnu fixed his mind, erected this tall flag-post of Bhagavāna Vishnu in Vishnupada-giri (the hill of Vishnu's feet).

*Transliteration into Sanskrit of the Revised Facsimile of the Inscription on the Delhi "Iron" or Metal Pillar.*

यस्योदृच्यतः प्रतीपसु (रवः) शत्रून् समेत्यागता-  
 न्वङ्गेष्वाच्छवदित्तिनोविविहिता खड्गेन कौतिर्भुजे  
 तीत्वां सप्तसुखानि येन समरे सिंधोर्जिता वाविहका  
 यस्याद्याप्यविवास्ते जलनिधिवर्द्धीर्यानित्यैर्हच्चित्यः  
 खिञ्चस्येव विसृज्य गां नरपतेगांभाच्चितस्यतरा  
 सूत्यां कर्मचितावनिं गतवतः कीत्यां स्थितस्युच्चितौ  
 शान्तस्येव भङ्गाने छतभुजो यस्य प्रतापो भङ्ग-  
 चाद्याप्युत्सुजति प्रणाशितरिपो र्घुलस्य लेशः द्वितौ-

प्राप्ते न सभुजाजिंतञ्च सुचिरं चैकाधिराज्यं ज्ञितौ  
 चंद्राह्वे न समग्रचंद्रसटशी वक्तुम्ब्रियं विभवता  
 तेनायं प्रणिधाय भूमिपतिना भावेन विष्णौ मतिं  
 प्रांशुर्विष्णुपदे गिरौ भगवतो विष्णोऽच्चं जस्थापितः

REMARKS.—I examined the so-called “Iron” Pillar or Lāt at Delhi in 1862. I am satisfied that iron forms no portion of the monument, and that it is a compound of several metals. It is 22½ feet above the ground, and 5 feet 3 inches in circumference.

I consider the transliteration and translation published in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society (vol. vii., pp. 629-31) as materially incorrect. There is no such name as Dhava, who has hitherto been supposed to be the prince who erected the pillar in commemoration of his prowess. Mr. E. Thomas, in his edition of Prinsep’s Essays (vol. i., p. 318), observes that “the hero of this record remains for the present unidentified with any potentate named in local annals, or with any sovereign whose place in history might be determined approximately from numismatic associations.”

I have no doubt that the name of the Rājā who constructed the pillar is Chandra Rājā. He appears to me to be of the Nerwar kings, whose coins are described by General Cunningham in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society (No. III. of 1865). Amongst the coins delineated is one which has the name “Chandra” on it. General Cunningham, however, supposes this “Chandra” to be Chandragupta of a later date.

But amongst the coins of the Chandraguptas there is none bearing any great similarity to this coin. And as the name is simply “Chandra,” there are no good grounds for adding “gupta” to it.

As the inscription is short, consisting only of six lines, I have but few remarks to make.

The character of the letters engraved shows them to be later than the time of the Guptas. The cross line across the top of each letter is only seen after the time of the Guptas. The letters correspond most to the inscriptions of the Maukhari dynasty, on two *vihārás* or caves in Behar, viz. those of Ananta Varmá at Nágárjuna and Bárábára. These inscriptions have also been revised, and a more accurate decipherment and translation will be submitted. The letter Va is similar to Ba.

The alphabet belongs in my opinion to the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century of the Christian era.

It is difficult to make out where the temple of Vishnu and the Vishnupada-giri were situated, although in the Masjid or buildings around, there are stones which originally belonged to Jaina, Saiva, and Vaishnava temples of the 10th or 11th century of the Christian era.

My copy of the inscription differs in every line from the copy published in Prinsep's Journal. What is read as "Dhavena" is really "bhávena." "Dhvaja" is really "bhujा," and what has been read "Chandrárkena" is "Chandrávhena." The mistake arises from adding a curved stroke to the letter Vha, on the left side at the middle.

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## XIX.

*Brief Notes on the Age and Authenticity of the Works of  
A'ryabhata, Varáhamihira, Brahmagupta, Bhattotpala,  
and Bháskarácharya.*

## I. A'RYABHATA.

THE name of this celebrated astronomer is written either A'ryabhata or A'ryabhatta, but generally with one *t* only. In an old manuscript of the Brahma Sphuta Siddhánta of Brahmagupta, copied in Samvat 1678, or A.D. 1621, the name occurs about thirty-three times,\* and is invariably written A'ryabhata ; and a double *t* cannot be introduced without violating the A'ryá metre. Bhatta Utpala, in his commentary on the Varáha Sanhitá, cites a passage from Varáha Mihira as follows :—

लङ्घार्द्वरावसमर्थं दिनपृत्तिं जगाह आर्यभटः ।

Here the word has only one *t*, and would not scan with two. This scholiast almost always writes, when quoting A'ryabhata, तथा आर्यभटः. In a commentary by Somesvara on the A'ryabhatiya Sútra, of which the manuscript in my possession was copied about three hundred years ago, the name is spelt with only one *t* :

आचार्यार्यभटोत्ता सूचविद्वतिः ।

In a copy of the Mahá A'ryasiddhánta, dated Saka 1676, A.D. 1598, is the following line :—

इत्यार्यभटप्रोक्तात्सिद्धान्ताद्यन्महाकालात् ।

Bhatta Utpala and Somesvara sometimes call him A'cháryabhata or A'chárya A'ryabhata ; Brahmagupta, in his

\* Colebrooke states that Brahmagupta cites A'ryabhata "in more than a hundred places by name." Misc. Ess. vol. ii. p. 475. He evidently includes citations or allusions by the learned commentator Chaturveda Prthúdaka Svámīn, whose commentary I regret I do not possess.

Siddhánta, chap. x. 62, A'ryáh, and in chap. xxi. 40, A'cháryabhata. In his Khanda Khádya Karana, copied Samvat 1783, he is called A'chárya A'ryabhatá. In a commentary on it by A'marája, he is simply called A'cháryabhata. Hence it appears to me clear that the proper spelling of this name is A'ryabhatá.

The works attributed to A'ryabhatá, and brought to light by European scholars, are :—

An A'ryasiddhánta (Mahá A'rya Siddhánta), written, according to Bentley, in the year 4423 of the Kali Yuga, or A.D. 1322.\*

Another A'ryasiddhánta, called Laghu, a smaller work, which Bentley supposed was spurious,† and the date of which, as stated in the text, was interpreted to mean the year of the Kali Yuga 3623, or A.D. 522. Of both these works Mr. Bentley possessed imperfect copies. He assumed a comparatively modern work, attributed to A'ryabhatá, and written in A.D. 1322, as the genuine A'ryasiddhánta, and, reasoning on this false premiss, has denounced as spurious the real and older work, and has, further, been led into the double error of condemning the genuine works of Varáha Mihira, Brahmagupta, Bhatta Utpala, and Bháskaráchárya, containing quotations and references to the older work, as modern impostures, and of admitting as genuine a modern treatise (the Játakárnava) as the work of Varáha Mihira.

Colebrooke, not having the works of A'ryabhatá before him, suggested that the older work might be a fabrication, but, from citations and references to A'ryabhatá in the works of Brahmagupta and Bhatta Utpala, came to a singularly accurate conclusion as to the age of A'ryabhatá, whose works he thought were different from either treatise in the possession of Bentley. "We shall, however," writes Cole-

\* A Historical View of the Hindu Astronomy. London, 1825, p. 128.

† Ibidem, pp. 168, 169.

brooke, "take the fifth [century] of Christ as the latest period to which A'ryabhata can, on the most moderate assumption, be referred."\* In one place, indeed, Colebrooke correctly guesses that the Laghu A'rya Siddhánta is either the A'ryashatasata or the Dasagitikā.†

The following passage in the Mahá A'ryasiddhánta explains itself :—

इत्यार्थभट्टपौत्रात्किञ्चान्ताद्यन्महाकालात् ।  
पाठिंगतमुच्छेदं विशेषितं तद्या स्तोत्र्या ॥

"That (knowledge) from the Siddhánta, propounded by A'ryabhata, which was destroyed, in recensions, by long time, I have, in my own language, thus specified."

In another copy, the verse commences differently, having *Vrddha* for *iti*; i.e. the first A'ryabhata is called *Vrddha* or old, whilst himself is the modern A'ryabhata.

Strange to say, the date corresponding to A. D. 1322, mentioned by Bentley, is not to be found in my copies. But I believe he was here, for once, correct.

In the first volume of the Transactions of the Madras Literary Society, a paper was published by Mr. Whish, evidently founded on the works of A'ryabhata senior. But, although Mr. Whish's paper is not available to me, I am positive he did not recognize his A'ryabhatiya Sútra as the work of A'ryabhata senior.

Professor Lassen has some admirable remarks on A'ryabhata.‡ He observes : Of "A'ryabhata's writings we have the following. He has written a short outline of his system, in ten strophes, which composition he therefore called *Dasagītaka* it is still extant.§ A more extensive work is the

\* Colebrooke's Misc. Ess. vol. ii. p. 477.

† Ibid. p. 467

‡ Indische Alterthumskunde, vol. ii., p. 1136.

§ See Colebrooke's Misc. Ess. ii. p. 467. To the friendly offices of Mr. Gundert, a German missionary in India, I am indebted for a copy of this

*A'ryáshtasata*, which, as the title informs us, contains eight hundred distichs, but has not yet been rediscovered. The mean between these works is held by the *A'ryabhattiya*, which consists of four chapters, in which the author treats of mathematics in one hundred and twenty-three strophes.\* In it he teaches the method of designating numbers by means of letters, which I shall mention again by and by. Besides, he has left a commentary on the *Súrya Siddhánta*, which has been elucidated by a much later astronomer, and is, probably, the work called *Tantra* by Albiruni.† This may be the same which was communicated to the Arabs, with two other *Siddhántas*, during the reign of the Khalif *Almansúr*, (which lasted from A. D. 754 till 775), by an Indian astronomer who had come to his court, but of which only the book properly so called, i. e. that of *Brahmagupta*, had been trans-

work, from a MS. in the possession of the Rájá of Kerkal, in Malabar. It is here called *Dasagitaka Sútra*. I have also received from him a copy of the *A'ryabhattiya*.

\* C. M. Whish names this work in the first dissertation mentioned in note I, p 1134, as well as in the second : *On the Quadrature of the Circle*, etc., in Trans. of the Roy. As. Soc. iii. p. 509. Also *Masudi* and *Albiruni* record it ; see Reinaud's *Mémoire*, etc., pp. 321 and 322.

+ See Wilson's Mackenzie Coll. i. p. 119, No. v. The title is *Súrya Siddhántaprákásá*, and it contains the *Sutras* of the *Surya Siddhánta*, with *A'ryabhatta*'s commentary, and explanations of it by a later author of the sixteenth century. The work contains three chapters with the superscriptions: *Ganita*, i.e. Arithmetic, *Algebra*, and Geometry, *Kalakriya*, by which very likely the doctrine of the calculation of the great periods must be understood ; the title *Gola* of the third chapter designates the Globe, but is intended to denote Astronomy. *Albiruni* mentions a *Tantra* of *A'rya bhatta* ; see Reinaud's *Mémoire*, p. 335. In the commentary of *Paroma-disvara* on *A'ryabhatta*'s explanation of the *Surya Siddhánta* (called *Surya Siddhánta-vyakhyanā*, and surnamed by the special title *Bhattiyadipika*, the title of which Mr. Gundert has communicated to me, and which work is likely to be the same with the one adduced in the *Mackenzie Collection*, vol. ii. p. 121, named *A'ryabhatta-ryakhyanā*), the work of *A'ryabhatta* is called *Tantra-Bhattiya*.

lated into Arabic, by order of that Khalif, by *Muhammed bin Ibrâhîm Alfazârî*, and had received the title of the great *Sindhind*. (See Colebrooke's Misc. Ess. ii. p. 504 seqq.) From this juxtaposition it appears that sufficient materials are at hand for investigating the doctrines of this founder of mathematical and astronomical science in India. Therefore it would be very desirable if a mathematician and astronomer, provided with a competent knowledge of Sanskrit, were to undertake to fill up this great gap in the knowledge which we have hitherto possessed of the history of both these sciences."

To my learned friend Dr. Fitzedward Hall we are indebted for the first and accurate statement that, "as reference is made, in the *A'rya Siddhânta*, to *Vrddha A'ryabhatta*, there should seem to have been two writers called *A'ryabhatta*." This correct reference Dr. Hall was enabled to make from having possessed himself of "two copies of the *A'rya Siddhânta*, both imperfect, and very incorrect." "This treatise is in eighteen chapters; and I more than suspect it to be the same composition which Mr. Bentley also had seen in a mutilated form,"\* [i.e. the *Mahâ A'rya Siddhânta*].

In an "Additional Note on *A'ryabhatta* and his Writings," by the Committee of Publication, appended to Dr. Hall's paper, the learned writer under the initials W. D. W. brings to light the contents of *Bhûta Vishnu's* "Commentary on the *Dasagitikâ* of *A'ryabhatta*," from a manuscript of the Berlin Library, a copy of which was supplied to him by Prof. Weber.

From the nature of the contents given in Appendix A, it is clear to me that the treatise which is described as "a brief one, containing only about one hundred and fifty stanzas," consists not only of the *Dasagiti Sûtra*, with a commentary by *Bhûta Vishnu*, but also of the *A'ryâshatasata* of *A'ryabhatta*,

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\* On the *A'rya-Siddhânta*. By Fitzedward Hall, Esq., M.A. Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. vi, p. 559.

which was hitherto believed to be unrecovered. The learned writer correctly remarks that the treatise is undoubtedly the same as Bentley's Laghu Árya Siddhánta, and also that "the other Árya Siddhánta, judging it from the account given of it by Bentley, appears to be, in comparison with this, a quite ordinary astronomical treatise, representing the general Hindu system with unimportant modifications." Yet he falls very nearly into the same error as Colebrooke, when he proceeds to remark: "Yet it seems clear that Brahmagupta and others have treated them as works of the same author, and have founded upon their discordances a charge of inconsistency against Áryabhata."\* The fact is, as we shall see, that Brahmagupta, Bhatta Utpala, and Bháskara Áchárya know and cite only the elder Áryabhata.

The next and last paper is on some fragments of Áryabhata, by Dr. H. Kern in the Jour. Roy. As. Soc. vol. xx. pp. 371 seqq. After briefly noticing the works known to former writers as the works of Áryabhata, and after alluding to the conclusion Dr. Hall arrived at, that there were two authors of the same name, he adds: "If the same course were adopted in regard to all the works ascribed to Áryabhata, or to an Áryabhata, if the contents were compared with the numerous fragments scattered in different works, chiefly commentaries, one might indulge the hope that the question of the authorship of Áryabhata would be settled in a satisfactory manner."

Dr. Kern proceeds "to contribute a small share towards solving the question," by giving extracts from the commentary of Bhatta Utpala on the Varáha Sanhitá of Varáha Mihira. In an additional note, at the conclusion of the paper, the learned author states that he was enabled, "by the kindness of Prof. Weber, to ascertain that all the quotations of Utpala, with the exception of one half-stanza, occur

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\* Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. vi, pp. 561 and 564.

in a manuscript of the Berlin Library." Some of the passages puzzle him, especially the date A. D. 475, about which he observes : " Unfortunately, it is not clear whether the date of Āryabhatta is meant, or that of Bhūtavishnu."

Adopting Dr. Kern's suggestion, I proceed to state briefly the result of an examination of the various works attributed to Āryabhata. In a diligent and expensive search for old and rare Sanskrit, Prakrit, Arabic, and Persian manuscripts, noiselessly conducted for many years past, I have succeeded in procuring the following works whose authorship is attributed to Āryabhata.

A. Three copies of what has been called the Vṛddha or Laghu Ārya Siddhānta, but, correctly speaking, Āryabhatiya Sūtra, consisting of the Dasagiti Sūtra, or Dasagītikā, and the Āryāśṭasata, or one hundred and eight couplets. These copies contain the following number of Āryás :—

Dasagiti Sūtra.	Āryāśṭasata.
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Copy <i>a</i> .....	13 .....	108
,, <i>b</i> .....	13 .....	108
,, <i>c</i> .....	13.....	108

There are two introductory stanzas at the commencement of copy *a*, evidently an after-addition, and not in the Āryāmetrē. This is a copy of a manuscript written in Saka 1760, or A. D. 1838.

Copy *b*. The date of the original manuscript is omitted.

Copy *c* is an old manuscript, without date ; but, from the character of the letters, and from the worn-out paper, it appears to be more than three hundred years old. It has, in addition, a Bhāshya, or commentary, by Somesvara, containing about 64,000 letters. Unfortunately, portions are illegible or destroyed. The scholiast gives no information about himself, but adds that his commentary is founded upon one by Bhāskara. At the conclusion are the words *iti somesvara-virachite dchāryabhatiyam bhāshyam samāptam iti*.

B. Of the Mahā Ārya Siddhānta I have a copy from

Gujerat, containing eighteen chapters, copied in Saka 1676, or A. D. 1754.

Two others are fresh copies of one or two originals, one of which has the date Saka 1762, or A. D. 1840.

The Áryás are from 600 to 612. There is no commentary.

I hope soon to be in possession of fresh copies of both these Siddhántas, with commentaries.

C. The Brahma Sphuṭa Siddhánta, or Brahma Siddhánta, of Brahmagupta, from Gujerat ; transcribed in Saka 1544. or A. D. 1622. Of this I have sent a copy to my learned friend, Professor Whitney.

D. The Khanda Khádyá Karana, of Brahmagupta, with a Bháshya, by Áma Sarman, son of Pandita Mahádeva, of Ánandapura ; copied in Samvat 1783, or A. D. 1726. (Ánandapura is the modern Wadanagara, in Katyawar). This manuscript was sent to me by a learned Pandita of Benares, whose acquaintance I was glad to make at Delhi last year.

E. The Varáha Sanhitá, with the commentary of Bhattotpala.

Another copy of the text only.

F. The Brhaj Játaka of Varáha Mihira ; two copies, one lithographed in Bombay.

G. The Laghu Játaka of Varáha Mihira.

The Vásishtha Siddhánta. Samvat 1810, or A.D. 1733.

The Vyása Siddhánta.

The Brahma Siddhánta.

The Romaka Siddhánta. Copied Samvat 1727, or A. D. 1670.

H. The Sūrya Siddhánta, with the Vásanábháshya.

The Sárvabhauma Siddhánta.

The Tattva Viveka Siddhánta (imperfect).

A commentary on the Siddhánta Siromani, by Váchaspati.

The Sundara Siddhánta.

I am glad to announce that, in the A'ryabhatiya, or A'ryabhata Sūtra, we have got all the works of the elder A'ryabhata, at least all those which were known to Brahmagupta, Bhatta Utpala, and Bhāskara A'chārya.

My copies of the A'ryabhatiya, or Laghu A'rya Siddhānta, are evidently identical with the one which Whish possessed, and with the Berlin manuscript ; the latter containing about twenty-seven verses or A'ryás more, in the shape of a commentary on the Dasagitikā, by Bhūtavishnu, which I have not.

Lassen's A'ryabhatiya is, undoubtedly, the same work. Brahmagupta having cited and controverted a work of A'ryabhata, as A'ryāśtasata, Colebrooke understood and published that "A'ryabhatta was the author of the A'ryāśtasata (eight hundred couplets)."<sup>\*</sup> That A'ryāśtasata means eight hundred couplets is also assumed in the passage I have quoted from Lassen. None of the learned scholars who have written so ably on A'ryabhata have impugned the correctness of the translation. Professor Whitney goes so far as to state that Dr. Hall "has farther made it at least a probable supposition that the treatise in question (i.e., the Mahā A'rya Siddhānta) is, in conformity with Colebrooke's earlier conjecture, to be identified with that so often credited to A'ryabhatta by the name of A'ryāśtasata."<sup>†</sup>

But A'ryāśtasata, I venture to affirm, means a treatise of one hundred and eight couplets. Ashtādhikam satam Ashṭasatam.<sup>‡</sup> The A'ryā from Brahmagupta, referring to this A'ryāśtasata, is as follows ; it is in the Tantra Dūshanādhyāya, Chapter xi. A'ryā 8 :—

आर्याष्टशते पाता भ्रमन्ति दशगीतिके स्थिराः पठिताः ।  
मुलेन्द्रपातमपमण्डले भ्रमन्ति स्थिरा नातः ॥

\* Colebrooke's Misc. MSS., vol. ii. p. 467.

† Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. vi. p. 560.

‡ See the Siddhānta Kaumudi of Bhattoji Dixita. Calcutta. 1861. vol. i, p. 369.

"In the A'ryáshásata, the Pátas (nodes) revolve ; in the Dasagitikà, they are described as stationary."

These two statements, which led Brahmagupta to censure A'ryabhatá for inconsistency of doctrine, are to be found in my copies of the A'ryabhatiya Sútra. They are as follows :—

दशगोऽत्र ११ खुधभृगुजुजुरुभनिवरपाः गलांशकान् प्रथमपाताः।

सवितुर्मीषां च तथा हाजखिमाहलयाखिच्च मन्दोच्चम् ॥

गोलपाद आर्यार ताराग्रहेन्दुपाता भ्रमन्त्यजस्तमपमर्णलेक्कंच्च ।

अर्काच्च भूजलार्द्धं भ्रमति हि तस्मिन् चितिच्छाया ॥

In the twenty-fourth chapter (Sandhyádhýáya), A'ryá 10, of his Brahma Siddhánta, Brahmagupta tells us that—

भट्टब्रह्माचार्यण जिष्णुतनयेन गणितगोलविदा ।

आर्याष्टसहस्रेण स्फुटसिद्धान्तः श्रुतो ब्राह्मः ॥

"Bhata Brahmáchárya, the son of Jishnu, mathematician and astronomer, composed the Brahma Sphuta Siddhánta, in 1008 A'ryás." The word A'ryáshásasrena means 1008, and not 8000 ; and my copy of Brahmagupta's Siddhánta consists of the former number of couplets.

Analogous examples may be produced from the Smrtis, where numbers are given. But, to set aside all doubt of the correctness of my translation of the word A'ryáshásata, I produce nearly all the passages in the A'ryabhatiya Sútra which have been controverted by Brahmagupta :—

ब्रह्मगुप्तसिद्धान्तं अध्याय॑ आर्या॒९ दशगोति आर्या॒५ का त्वोम न  
युगपादानार्थं भट्टब्रह्माचरि समानि वीढमतुर्दुर्गश्च खगनास्ते च ।  
क्षतयुगादीनि । यदभिहितवान्न  
तेषां स्मृत्युत्तमानं सेकमपि ॥

ब्र.आर्या १२मनुसंधियुगभिक्ष्या- कालपाद् आर्या द अष्टोत्तर-  
र्यमठस्तम्भनुर्येतः श्खयुगः। कल्प- साहस्रं ब्राह्मी दिवसो ग्रह-  
शतुर्युगानां सहस्रमष्टाधिकं तस्य॥ युगानां ।

ब्र.आ. ६० अकृतार्यमठः शीघ्रग- दशगीति आर्या४ चंद्रोच्चर्जुषि-  
मिंदूचं पातमल्पगं स्वगतेः । ति- ख्खबुधसुगुश्चिथृनभृगुजषपिखु-  
थप्रन्तग्रहणानां घुणाच्चरं तस्य भृशेषाकांः। बुफिनचपातविलोमा  
संवादः ॥ बुधाङ्गप्रजाकोदियाच्च लंकायां ।

ब्र.अ.२ आ.३३ आर्यमठस्याज्ञा- नात् मध्यममंदोच्च शीघ्रपरिधी-  
नां । न सष्टा भौमाद्याः सष्टा ब्रह्मोक्तमध्याद्यैः ॥

ब्र.अ.६ आर्या२१आर्यमठःक्षेत्रां-  
श्चैव्यादस्याददुक्तवांस्तदस्त् । दृगणितविसंवदात् दृगणि-  
तं स्वकालांश्चैः ॥

ब्र. तंवदूषणाध्याय११ आर्या४  
आर्यमठो युगपादान् स्त्रीन्  
व्यतौतानाह कलियुगादौयत् ।  
तस्य कृतान्तर्यस्तान् स्वयुगाद्य-  
न्तौ न तत् तस्मात् ॥

ब्र.अ.११ आ.५ युगरविभगणाः दशगीति आर्या३ युगरविभग-  
खुरच्छ्रितिवत्प्रोक्तं तंवयोर्युगं णाः खुरच्छ्रित्यगिविजुशुक्ल

दशगीति आ.१० द्वार्धानि मंद-  
व्रत्तं शशिनः छगलघदक्षयथौ-  
त्तेष्यः । भागुग्नम्भूलदडत्तथाश  
निगुरुकुजभृगुभुधोच्च शीघ्रेभ्यः॥

गोलपाद् आर्या४ चन्द्रोशैर्ही-  
दशभौ रविच्छिमो कर्तिरस्ति-  
तैर् । दृशः नवभिर्भृगुभृगोस्तै-  
र्हिग्निकैद्वयिकैर्यथाश्चक्षाः ॥

दशगीति आर्या५ कल्पादैर्युग-  
पादागच्च गुरुदिवसाच्च भारतात्  
पूर्वं ।

स्थृं। त्रिशती रव्युदयानां कुञ्जिशिखुएङ्गष्टख् प्राक्। कालं  
तंदतरं हेतुना केन ॥ पाद आ.५ रविभगणारव्यव्धा ॥

ब्र. अ. ११ आर्या६ युगवर्षाही- कालपाद आ १२ युगवर्षमास-  
नवदच्चैवसिताहैः समप्रवृत्तान् दिवसः समं प्रवृत्तास्तु चैवशु-  
यत् । तदसद्यतः सुट्युतं गं न णाहैः। काली यमनायन्तो  
स्थैर्याद्यन्तपातानां । ग्रहभैरुभीयते चैवे ॥

ब्र. अ. ११ आर्या८ आर्यमटो गोलपाद.४८ चितिरविद्योगात्  
ज्ञानाति ग्रहाष्टकगतिं यदुक्त- दिनकृत् रवीदुयोगात् प्रसाधि-  
वांस्तदसत् । राहुकृतं न ग्रहण- तश्चेदुः। शतितारा ग्रहयोगा-  
तस्यातो नाष्टमी राहुः ॥ सर्वे ।

ब्र. अ. ११ आर्या११ ओकारो दिनचारै गुरुरोद्यिक्यस्य भव-  
ति कल्पादौ । न भवत्याकारा  
यस्माद्ऽकारै विस्तरस्तस्यात् ॥

ब्र. अ.१२ आ१२ सूर्योदयाच्चतु-  
र्थान् दिनपान् यदुवाच तदस-  
दार्यमटः। लंकोदधे यतोऽर्ज-  
स्यास्तमयं प्राह सिङ्गपुरे ॥

कालकियापाद. आर्या१६ सप्तैते  
हीरेशाः अनैश्वराद्या यथाकर्म  
शीघ्राः। शीघ्रकमाच्चतुर्थां भवति  
च सूर्योदयात् दिनपः ॥ गोल-  
पाद. आर्या१३ उदयो यो लं-  
काया सोऽस्तमयः सवितुरेव  
सिङ्गपुरे। मध्याङ्गो यमकोट्यां  
रोमकविषयोऽर्जुरातं स्यात् ॥

ब्र.अ.११ आ.१६ गसगियियोजन- इश्वरीति. आर्या.३ नृषियोजनं  
परिषिद्धिभूव्यासं पुन्य—लाव- जिल्मभूव्यासः ।  
दता । आत्माज्ञानं खण्डपितम-  
निश्चयः स्वभतिङ्गतकल्पात् ॥

ब्र.अ.११ आ.१७ प्राणेनैतिकलांभं इश्वरीति. आ.६ प्राणेनैति कलां  
अहि तत् वा कुतो ब्रजेलिम- भंखयुगांशे अहजवो भवांशे-  
ध्वानं । आवर्तनमुव्याशेन्न पतं- इकः । गोल.आ.८ अनुलोभगतिं  
ति समुच्छ्रयाः कस्मात् ॥ नैस्थः पश्चत्यचलं विलोभग  
यद्वत् । अचलानि भानि तद्वत्  
समपश्चिमगानि लंकायाः ॥

ब्र.अ.११ आ.२२ उत्तरगोले ग्रायां विषुवज्यातो यदुत्तमूना-  
यां । सममंडलगस्तद चतुक्रांति  
ज्यायां यतो भवति ॥

ब्र.अ.११ आ.२३ व्यासाह्नेन विभ-  
क्ता दुग्गतिजीवा चतुर्गुणा ल-  
क्ष्यं । लंबननाडङ्गः पञ्चदशगुणि-  
तयात्रिज्यया भक्ता ॥

गोलपाद. आर्या.३१ सा विषुव-  
ज्याना चेत् विषुवदुदक् लंब-  
केन संगुणिता । विषुज्यया वि-  
भक्ता लक्ष्यः पूर्वापरः शंकुः ॥

गोलपाद. आर्या.३२ । ३३ । ३४ ।  
द्वितिजादुन्नतभागानां या ज्या  
सपरतो भवेत् शंकुः । मध्यान्त-  
तभागज्या क्षाया शङ्कोस्तु तस्यै-  
वा ॥ मध्यज्योदयजीवा संवर्ग  
व्यासदलहृते यस्मात् । तमध्य-  
ज्या क्षत्योर्विशेषमूलं स्वट्टक्षेपः ॥ द्वच्चक्षेपङ्गतिविशेषितस्य  
मूलं स्वट्टगतिः क्षावशात् । त्वि-

तिस्तमटक्काया भूव्यासार्ज्जं न-  
भो मध्यात् ॥

ब्र.अ.११ आ.२६ लम्बनमृणाधन-  
मुक्तं पूर्वपरस्तिथौ दिनार्जस्य ।  
युक्तो भावो वद्धवति तत् क्रण-  
धनयो स्तिथौ कतरत् ॥

गोलपाद. आर्या. ३५।२६विश्वे-  
पगुणाहृज्या लम्बकमजिता  
भवेत् क्रणमुदक्षे । उद्ये  
धनमस्तमये दह्निणगीमृणमृणं  
चन्द्रे ॥ विश्वेपापकममुत्क्रमणं  
विस्तरार्जुतियुक्ता मुदगुणमुद-  
गयनेदह्निणगी धनमृणं चन्द्रे ॥

ब्र.अ.११ आ.३४ विश्वेपगुणाहृ-  
ज्या लंबकमक्ता ग्रष्माधनं यत् ।  
डक्तमुदयास्तमयोर्नमतिवटिकं  
तस्तदसत् ॥

गो. आ. २८ विश्वेपगुणाहृज्या  
लंबकमजिता भवेत् क्रणमुद-  
क्षे । उद्ये धनमस्तमये द-  
ह्निणगी धनमृणं चन्द्रे ॥

ब्र.अ.११ आर्या ४३ जानाद्येक-  
मणि यतो नार्यभटो गणितका-  
लगोलानां । नमया प्रोक्तानि  
ततः पृथक् पृथक् दूषणान्येषां ॥

दश.आ. १ आर्यमटखौणि गद-  
ति गणितं कालक्रियां गोलां ॥

These extracts are given as in the original, without any attempt at correction: Colebrooke quotes and translates the following passage as from A'ryabhata, cited by Prthūdaka:—\*

भपञ्चरः स्थिरो भूरेवावृत्यावृत्य प्रातिदैवस्तिकौ उद्यास्त-  
मयो सपादयति नक्षत्रग्रहाणाम् ।

"The sphere of the stars is stationary; and the earth,

\* Colebrooke's Misc. Ess. vol. ii. p. 392.

making a revolution, produces the daily rising and setting of stars and planets."

With regard to this passage, Dr. Hall remarks that he has not sought it out in his manuscript of the Mahá Árya Siddhánta. Nor would he find it there. The fact is, the Laghu Árya Siddhánta is metrical; and the passage quoted is not so. This is observed by Dr. Hall; but he went in the wrong track in stating that "this extract might go to prove that Árya, besides his works in verse, wrote others in prose."\*

I do not find the passage, literally, in either of the Siddhántas; but I have no doubt that it is only a paraphrase of the following line from Áryabhata, in Prthúdaka's own words; Áryabhatiya, Golapáda, Áryá ix. :

अनुलोभगतिनैस्थः पश्यत्यचलं विलोभगं यहत् ।

अचलानि भानि तहसमपश्चिमगानि लङ्घायाम् ॥

"As a person in a vessel, while moving forwards, sees an immoveable object moving backwards, in the same manner do the stars, however immoveable, seem to move (daily). At Lanká (*i. e.* at a situation of no geographical latitude) they go straight to the west (*i. e.* in a line that cuts the horizon at right angles, or, what is the same, parallel to the prime vertical at Lanká)."†

I have no doubt that, in the following passage, which has been a theme of fruitful discussion, the first line only is from Áryabhata (it is the latter half of the fourth Áryá of the Kálapáda chapter, in my MS.); the second line is, in all likelihood, an addition by Bhatta Utpala :‡

\* Journal American Oriental Society, vol. vi. p. 558.

† Journ. Roy. As. Soc. vol. xx. 1863, p. 376.

‡ Ibid. p. 378. The couplet in the Áryabhatiya is as follows :—

कालपाद आर्यां ४ स्तोऽभगणा स्तभगणेविशेषिताः स्तोऽभनीवपरिवताः ।

युरभगणा राशिशुणास्त्राव्युजाद्या गुरोरद्वा ॥

गुरुभगणा राशिगुणा आश्वयुगादा गुरोरब्दः ।

गुरुभगणानां संख्या जिनयमवेदर्त्तव्यभुजतुल्या ॥

"The revolutions of Jupiter, multiplied by the number of the signs (twelve), are the years of Jupiter, called A'svayuja, etc. ; his revolutions are equal to the number of the Jinas, a couple, the Vedas, the seasons, the fires (*i. e.* 364,224.)"

A'ryabhata having an alphabetical notation of his own, it was surprising to find him make use of our arithmetical notation, which the second line quoted above implies. But now the enigma is solved : the second line is not of A'ryabhata.

The Dasagiti Sútra, as the name purports, is composed of ten A'ryás ; the three additional ones, in my copies, relating to—1. invocation, 2. the alphabetical notation, and 3. the fruit or advantage of knowing the Dasagiti Sútra. The A'ryáshtasata consists of three chapters, viz., 1. Ganita ; 2. Kálakriyá ; and 3. Gola. As the A'ryabhatiya consists of the Dasagiti Sútra and A'ryáshtasata, the treatise consists of four chapters, called pásas, of which the Dasagiti Sútra is the first, and the remaining three as above. This arrangement was not clearly perceived by the learned writer of the additional note to Dr. Hall's paper.\*

Any one studying the Commentary of Munisvara, alias Visvarúpa, styled Marichi, on the Siddhánta Siromani of Bháskaráchárya, and also his Sárvabhauma Siddhánta, cannot fail to remark that he clearly notices two A'ryabhatas. He calls, however, the author of the so-called Mahá A'rya Siddhánta, Laghu A'ryabhaṭa, or A'ryathata junior ; and, in quoting from the senior, calls him simply A'ryabhaṭa. Sometimes A'ryabhaṭa junior appears only as plain A'ryabhaṭa ; in all likelihood, from the fault of copyists.

Ganesa, in his commentary on Bháskaráchárya's Lilávati, had only to deal with A'ryabhaṭa junior ; and, accordingly, he speaks of only one A'ryabhaṭa.

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\* Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. vi. p. 561.

The Sundara Siddhánta of Jnánarája also distinguishes a Laghu from a Vrddha Áryabhata. Besides the passages referred to by Brahmagupta, all those cited by Bhatta Utpala and Bháskara Áchárya are found in my copy of the Áryabhaṭiya. There cannot now, therefore, possibly be any doubt of our having a correct copy of the works of Áryabhata senior ; and I shall take the earliest opportunity of publishing the original text, with the commentary of Somesvara, for the gratification of learned orientalists.

I shall now proceed to an examination of Áryabhata's age. Áryabhata was born in A. D. 476. This date is given, by himself, in the Áryáshtasata as follows :—

षष्ठब्दानां षष्ठिर्यदा वर्तीताख्यञ्च युगपादाः ।

वर्धिका विश्विरब्दास्तदैऽह मम जन्मनोऽतीताः ॥

Dr. Kern quotes a corrupt version of it from the Berlin manuscript. The correct translation is : “ When three of the four Age-quarters and  $60+60$  [=3600] years are past, then are past upwards of twenty-three years from my birth.” This gives, for the birth of Áryabhata, the year A. D. 476 ; as the fourth Age-quarter, or Kali Yuga, commenced 3101 years before Christ.

Strange to say, the commentator Somesvara understands the verse to mean that 3623 years had elapsed of the Kali Yuga at the birth of Áryabhata. The commentator whom Mr. Whish consulted fell, perhaps, into the same error ; as Mr. Whish does not appear to have given the exact date, but refers Áryabhata simply to the beginning of the sixth century of the Christian era. Áryabhata calls himself a native of Kusumapura, or Pátaliputra. Beyond a doubtful allusion to the Brahma Siddhánta, he never mentions any previous author, and rather prides himself on his originality. His work is written with great attention to conciseness. His system of notation is quite original. The account given

of it by Lassen is not altogether correct. In the invention of a new system of notation, the Indian A'ryabhata may be compared to the Grecian Archimedes. The ratio of the diameter to the circumference was given, by Archimedes, in his book *De dimensione circuli*, as seven to twenty-two ; while that of A'ryabhata is as one to 3.1416. A'ryabhata has the following notice of the Buddhist system of measuring time :—

कालपाद् आर्यो उत्तर्पिणी युगार्धं पश्चाद्वर्षपिणी युगार्धं च ।  
मध्ये युगस्य सूषमा चाहावन्त्ये च दुःष्मेन्दूच्चात् ॥

This arrangement is different from that of Hemáchárya and other Jaina authorities. (See Appendix A).

## II. VARĀHA MIHIRA,\*

as we have already seen, cites A'ryabhata by name in the passage given by Bhatta Utpala from Varāha's Pancha Siddhántiká Karana, quoted in his commentary on the Váráhi Sanhitá.† The Pancha Siddhántiká Karana I have as yet failed in recovering. Colebrooke‡ assigned to him the close of the fifth century of the Christian era, from a calculation of the position of the colures affirmed as actual in his time by Varāha Mihira. Since then no further solid data have been discovered to fix the era of this celebrated astronomer. I have failed to find out the date of his birth, but am glad to have discovered that of his death in a com-

\* Varāha Mihira calls himself the son of *A'dityadása*, under whom he studied and obtained the highest gift from the Sun in Kapitthaka (a gráma, according to Bhattotpala), and an A'vantika, or native of Ujjayini. Bhattotpala calls him a Mágadha brahman, or dvijavara (best of Brahmans), and A'vantikáchárya. Varāha's son was Prihuyasas, who composed the Shatpauchasika, on which also Bhattotpala has a commentary.

† The passage is given by Dr. Kern, Jour. Roy. As. Soc., vol. xx, p. 383.

‡ Colebrooke's Misc. Ess., vol. ii, p. 482.

mentary on the Khanda Khádyá of Brahmagupta, by A'marájá :—

नवाधिकपञ्चशतसंख्याके वराहमिहिराचार्यो हिं गतः

"Varáha Mihira A'chárya went to heaven in the 509th [year] of the Saka Kála, i. e. A.D. 587."

There is no reason to doubt the correctness of this statement.

The following passage, quoted by Bhatta Utpala, in his commentary on the Váráhi Sanhitá; from a Tantra by Varáha Mihira, shows that he flourished after Saka Kála 427, i.e. after A.D. 505 :

यथाचाहगणानयनं  
सप्ताप्तिवेदसंख्यं शककालमपास्त्र चैत्रशुक्लादौ ।  
अर्ज्जस्तमिति भानौ यवनपुरे भौमदिवसाखेऽ ॥  
मासीकृते समासे द्विष्टे सप्ताहतेष्टयमपचैः ।  
लब्ध्युर्युतोऽधिमासैस्तिंश्युक्तस्तिथियुतोऽधस्त्रः ॥  
सद्\* समनुशरो नो लब्धो नो गुणस्त्रभिर्द्युगणः ।  
रोमकसिङ्गांतोऽयं नातिचिरं पौलिशेऽप्येवं ॥

The astronomers of Ujjayiní place Varáha Mihira in the beginning of the fifth century. It is not unlikely that they have mistaken the Saka Kála for that of the Vikrama Samvat, or fallen into the same error as Albírúni.

Albírúni states that 526 years had passed up to his own date, A. D. 1031, from the date of the composition of the Pancha Siddhántiká of Varáha Mihira;\* which event must, therefore, be placed in A. D. 505. But in this he is evidently in error. Varáha Mihira adopted the epoch of the Romaka Siddhánta, for finding the number of civil or natural days (Ahargana); and Albírúni or his informants have assumed

\* Journal Asiatique, tome iv 1844, p. 285.

this to be the date of Varáha's Pancha Siddhántiká, which adopts the epoch of the Romaka Siddhánta.

Varáha Mihira, as we have seen, on the authority of A'marāja, died in A. D. 587, *i.e.* a century and eleven years after the birth of Áryabhatá.

The so-called Khanda Kataka of Albirúni is evidently Brahmagupta's Khanda Khádyá; and Arcand is a corruption of Karana.

From various considerations, the middle of the sixth century has been allotted to Varáha by Colebrooke, and by the learned American translator and commentator of the Surya Siddhánta. The passage I have quoted from Bhāttopala confirms these conjectures.

This calculation, it proceeds to tell us further, is that of the Romaka Siddhánta ; and, judging by similar calculations and other Siddhántas, it appears to me highly probable that the Romaka Siddhánta was composed in Saka 427, or A. D. 505. Varáha Mihira founded his Pancha Siddhántiká Karana on the Romaka Siddhánta and four others. It is clear, therefore, that Varáha could not have lived before A. D. 505. In all likelihood, his birth was twenty or thirty years subsequent to this date ; which would make Varáha Mihira about fifty or sixty years old at the time of his death in A. D. 587. In an essay on Kálidásá,\* I have attempted to show that the nine gems of Indian celebrity flourished at the Court of Harsha-Vikramáditya, at Ujjayiní, in the sixth century of the Christian era. As we have now established the date of Varáha Mihira beyond a doubt, my hypothesis that Mátrigupta is identical with the celebrated Kálidásá gains further support.

The authors of the Paulisa, Romaka, Vásishtha, Saura, and Paitámaha Siddhántas being noticed by Varáha Mihira, it follows that they flourished before A. D. 505. Brahmagupta affirms that Sríshena, the author of Romaka

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\* Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, 1862, vol. vi,

Siddhánta, bases his calculations on those of Láta, Vasishtha, Vijayanandin, and Áryabhata, and that Vishnuchandra, following the same guides, wrote the Vásishtha Siddhánta. As we have the date of A.D. 508 for the Romaka Siddhánta, it is evident that Láta, Vijayanandin, and Vasishtha flourished before that time. I presume that the Romaka Siddhánta was composed in accordance with the work of some Roman or Greek author ; just as the Paulisa Siddhánta was composed from the work of Paulus Alexandrinus. Is not Látáchárya also a foreign author ? Bhatta Utpala notices also a strange author, of the name of Sphujidhvaja or Asphujidhvaja, as a Yavanesvara, who composed a new Sástra before the Saka era. His works appear, from the following passage,<sup>\*</sup> to have been consulted by Bhatta Utpala, who remarks that Varáha Mihira consulted the works of other Yavana authors not available to himself. I believe the word Sphujidhvaja is a corruption of the Greek name Speusippus. Diogenes Laertius mentions two authors of this name, one of whom was a physician called Herophileus Alexandrinus, and may, possibly, be the astronomer whose works were translated and studied in India.

Varáha Mihira's knowledge of Greek technical astronomical terms and doctrines has been fully treated of by Weber and others. The verse in which he gives the Greek terms for the Sanskrit names of the signs of the Zodiac, has hitherto been presented to us, except by Mr. Whish, in a corrupt form ;† as the following will show that the last puzzling word is the veritable Greek 'ΙΧΘΥΕΣ, or Pisces :—

क्रियतावुरुजुतुमङ्गलौरलेयपाथौनजूककोर्वाखग्रः ।

तौच्चिक आकोकेरो हृद्रोगश्चेत्यसि क्रमशः ॥

\* यवनेश्वरेणास्मजिज्ञजेनान्यत् शास्त्रं लतं शककालस्य प्राक् चाथते अहुयवनाचार्यैः पूर्वैः लतभिति तदस्मुजिज्ञजोऽप्याह ।

† See Journal As. Soc. Bengal, 1845, p. 810.

I have failed, as yet, to discover the Paulisa and Romaka Siddhántas. I have two old copies of a Romaka Siddhánta ; but it is, evidently, a modern production, taken from some Arabian author, and having nothing in common with the citations and references to the older Romaka Siddhánta preserved in the works of Varáhamihira, Brahmagupta, and Bhāttoṭpala.

### III. BRAHMAGUPTA

has given his own date in the Brahmasphuta Siddhánta. I gave this extract in my Essay on Kálidása, three or four years ago ; but it has escaped the attention of one of our ablest and most accurate scholars.\*

श्रीचापवंशतिलके श्रीव्याघ्रसुखि नृपे शकनृपालात् ॥ पंच-  
शत्संयुक्तैर्वर्षशतैः पंचभिरतौतैः ॥ १ ॥ ब्राह्मः स्फुटसिद्धांतः  
सञ्जनगणितगोलवित् प्रीत्यै ॥ त्रिंश्चिर्षेण छत्रो जिष्णुस्तब्रह्म-  
गुप्तेन ॥ २ ॥ अध्याय २४ आर्या ७-८

" In the reign of Sri Vyághramukha, of the Sri Chápa dynasty, five hundred and fifty years after the Saka King (*i. e.* Sáliváhana, or A. D. 628) having passed, Brahmagupta, the son of Jishnu, at the age of thirty, composed the Brahmagupta Siddhánta, for the gratification of mathematicians and astronomers " (chap. 24. A'ryás 7-8).

### IV. BHATTA UTPALA'S

age has been quoted from his work by Colebrooke and others :

फाल्खुनस्य हितीयायामसितायां गुरोदिने ।  
बखषाष्टमिते शाके छत्रेयं विद्वतिर्मेया ॥

\* Professor Max Müller, Preface to the Rigveda, iv. pp. xiv. f.

## V. BHĀSKARA Ā'CHĀRYA

has stated, in his Siddhánta Siromani, the date of the composition of his work as follows :—

रसगुणपूर्णमहीसमराद्वपसमये भवन्नमीप्रतिः ।

रसगुणवर्षणं मया सिद्धांतशिरोमणि रचितः ॥

This date has been singularly confirmed by an inscription which I discovered, some years ago, in the neighbourhood of the railway station of Chálisgám, about seventy miles beyond Násik. This inscription gives also the names of several of Bháskaráchárya's descendants, who taught his works in a college endowed in the neighbourhood of Chálisgám, at the foot of the hills which contain the Pítalkhorá caves. (See Appendix B.)

Remarks on the inscription referred to in p. 410, and given at length in Appendix B.

In this inscription we have the names of the following kings of the Yadu dynasty : Bhillama, Jaitrapála, and Singhana. Under this dynasty is the following genealogy of subordinate chiefs of the solar race : Krshnarája, his son Indrarája, his son Govana, and his son Sonhadeva. This last makes a grant of certain privileges, in the shape of perquisites, or first-gifts, to a college established by Changadeva, (within six miles of the railway station at Chálisgám, and at the foot of the Pitalkhorá caves), now entirely deserted and in ruins, in the year 1128 Saka-kála, i. e. A. D. 1206, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse.

Changadeva was the son of Lakshmidhara, who "was patronized by Jaitrapála, as the chief of his Panditas. Lakshmidhara's father was the celebrated Bháskaráchárya. His father was Kavísvara Máhesvaráchárya ; and his father was Manoratha ; his father, Prabhákara ; his father, Govinda Sarvajna ; his father, Bháskara Bhatta, to whom Bhoja gave the title of Vidyápati. His father was Trivikrama. This

learned family, we are further told, belonged to the *gotra* of Sāndilya.

The names of Bhillama, Jaitrapāla, and Singhana occur in two copper-plate grants, No. 9 and 10 of Mr. Watken's series (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc.* v. pp. 178, 183). In these grants we have also the names of the successors of Singhana, i. e. Krishna, Jaitrapāla (Singhana's son), his younger brother Mahādeva, who succeeded him, and Rāmachandra, the son of Krishna, the dates of whose grants are Saka 1212 and 1194. The donor, Sonhadeva, in our inscription, dated Saka 1128, is a contemporary and subordinate of Singhana, whose third lineal descendant was Rāmachandra, in whose reign the grants of Saka 1212 and 1194 are dated.

These dates, therefore, are perfectly compatible with, and confirmatory of, the accuracy of that of the inscription.

Bhāskarāchārya, the author of the Siddhānta Siromani, gives the date of his birth as follows :

रसगुणपूर्णमहीसमशकनृपसमये ज्ववन्ममोत्पत्तिः ।  
रसगुणपूर्णं मया सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि रचितः ॥

" In the year 1036 of the Saka king, I was born ;  
And at the age of 36, I composed the *Siddhānta Siromani*."

This date is quite in accordance with that of the inscription.

The following lines, in praise of Bhāskarāchārya's accomplishments, are sometimes to be found added to MSS. of the Līlāvatī :

अष्टौ व्याकरणानि षट्च भिषजां व्याचष्टयः संहिताः  
षट्कर्णीन् गणितानि पञ्च चतुरो वेदानधीते च चः ।  
रत्नानां त्रितयं हयं च लुब्धेष्व भौमांसयोरन्तरं  
सत् अल्पैव जगाह गाधमहिमा सोऽस्याः कविर्भास्करः ॥

An important fact to be noticed is the bestowal of the title of Vidyāpati on Bhāskara Bhatta, an ancestor of Bhāskarāchārya, by Bhoja.

This Bhoja is, undoubtedly, the monarch of Dhāra, whom it is the fashion to speak of as distinguished for his patronage of learning.

In the Rāja Mrgānka Karana, attributed to Bhoja, a copy of which was brought to me, by Panditas, from Jessulmere, whither I sent them in search of Jaina MSS. two years ago, its author recommends 964 to be subtracted from the Saka era to find the Ahargana, *i. e.* "the sum of days," in civil reckoning.

Bhoja, therefore, it follows, flourished in  $964 + 78 = 1042$  A.D. At the end of the work he is called Rāna Ranga Malla, a title also to be found in the Pātanjala Yoga Sūtra Vṛtti.

My panditas have succeeded in getting a very imperfect copy of the Tilaka Manjari of Dhanapāla, who is said by Merutunga, the author of the Prabandha Chintāmani, to be the author of that work, and to have been a favourite of Bhoja. Merutunga adds that from Vikrama Samvat 1076, or A. D. 1019, Bhimarāja reigned. He was succeeded by Karna in 1028. At the time the Chālukya Bhīma reigned in Gujerat, Bhoja says Merutunga ruled in Mālava. According to this Jaina hierarch, Munja was imprisoned by Tailapa, the Chālukya, who commenced his reign in Saka 895, or A.D. 973, according to the copper-plate grants of Mr. Wathen. Dhanapāla was a Brahmana, but, evidently, a Jaina by faith. He composed the Jina Stavana, or Gāthās in Māgadhi, in praise of Jina, of which a complete copy was brought me from Jessulmere. The Jainas are loud in the praises of Dhanapāla.

Mr. Bentley speculated that Bhāskarāchārya flourished after Akbar the Great. Our inscription furnishes a new proof that the unfavourable opinion of Hindu veracity which led to this conclusion was utterly unfounded.

## APPENDIX A.

" We will now proceed to inquire how far the doctrines of our treatise correspond with what has elsewhere been handed down as taught by A'ryabhatta. The peculiar division of the Great Age (*mahāyuga*) and constitution of the Æon (*kalpa*), described by Brahmagupta (see Colebrooke, as above) as A'ryabhatta's, are here given. The treatise begins the Æon with sunrise at Lankā, a tenet which distinguished the school of A'ryabhatta from that of Pulisa (see Colebrooke, as above ; also Essays, ii. 427, et al.) It affirms the revolution of the earth on its axis, and the non-reality of the apparent daily motion of the stars, comparing this to the effect of riding in a chariot when fixed objects seem to be moving in a direction contrary to that in which the chariot is proceeding (see the reference to this point in Mr. Hall's paper). It declares the moon, planets, and stars to be naturally dark, and only illuminated upon the side which is turned toward the sun (see Colebrooke, Hind. Alg., note G ; Essays, ii. 467). The variability of dimensions of the epicycles of the planets is recognized, although the agreement between this treatise and the Sūrya Siddhānta herein is not so close as Colebrooke (As. Res. xii. 236 ; Essays, ii. 401) seems to have understood it to be : perhaps Colebrooke's reference here belongs rather to the other A'rya Siddhānta. The passage repeated by Colebrooke (Hind. Alg., note I ; Essays, ii. 473) from Bhātta-utpalā on Varāha-mihira is almost precisely represented by the first verse of our third *páda* : its evidence, however, is of little account, as it relates to a matter so general that it might occur in nearly equivalent terms in almost any treatise ; Colebrooke is mistaken in attributing it to any necessary connection with the doctrine of the precession : the position of the equinoxes would be described by a Hindu astronomer as in the first of Aries and of Libra, whatever his theory respecting the important fact of their

movement along the ecliptic. The doctrine respecting the precision attributed to Áryabhatta by Munisvara and others (see Colebrooke, As. Res. xii. 213 ; Essays, ii. 378, et. al.), namely, that the equinoctial points librate 578,159 times in an Æon (*kalpa*) through an Arc of 488, appears from Bentley (Hind. Ast. p. 140, etc.) to belong to the more extended treatise, and not to the Laghu Árya Siddhánta. In connection with the latter, Bentley makes no mention of the precession, nor have we as yet succeeded in discovering anything about it in our treatise, although we would not venture to say with entire confidence that it is not there. It seems, then, altogether probable that Colebrooke's suggestion (as above) is well-founded, to the effect that the libration of the equinoxes may be taught in the Áryáshásata, and not in the Dasagitiká, although we cannot regard as of force the particular reason he assigns for it, since the equinoxes are by no means likely to have been treated as nodes by the early astronomers. A scholiast upon the Váráhi Sanhitá ascribes to Áryabhatta (Colebrooke, As. Res. xii. 244 ; Essays, ii. 410) the determination of Jupiter's revolutions in a Great Age (*maháyuga*) as 364,224 ; this is the number given in our treatise, and in Bentley's Laghu Árya Siddhánta ; that found in his Árya Siddhánta is 364,219,682."—Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. vi. pp. 562-3.

## APPENDIX B.

१ नमो गणाधिपतये सिद्धि—सुधाकरभूमि—स्य—दू—ल  
 संरक्षणानि गगने चरवास्तोतः उङ्गटवुहिर्भाँडे सांख्ये संख्यः स्त्रांत्रधौस्त्रांत्रे ।  
 वै नवद्यविद्योऽन्त्यः शिल्यादिषु कलासु ॥ १ ॥ स्ववन्दोऽथ कन्दमि शास्त्रे  
 वै शेषिके विशेषज्ञः । यः श्रीप्रभाकरसमः प्राभाकरदर्शने कविः काव्ये ॥ २ ॥  
 बङ्गशुणगणितप्रभृतिस्त्रभवितये लिनेवसमः । विद्युधामिवन्दितयदो जयति  
 श्रीभास्त्रराचार्यः ॥ ३ ॥ श्रीमद्यदुर्बशाय स्वस्त्रसु समस्तवस्तुसङ्खिताय । विश्वं  
 यत्र त्रातुं जातो विश्वः स्वयम्वस्तु ॥ ४ ॥ गर्जदृशुर्जरुद्धरोऽब्दिष्टासंचहृक-

गढोरवो लाटोरस्ककपाठपाठनपटुः कणांठहृत्कणकः । श्रीमान् भिज्ञभूषणिः  
 समभवद्भूपालचूडामणिः वस्तार्त्तिष्ठुरंत्रिकांतं सुखहृच्छीजैवपालोऽभवत् ॥  
 ५ ॥ लक्ष्मीकान्लवः प्रतारितभवः श्रीजैवपालोङ्गवः संयामाङ्गणसञ्चिताति-  
 विभवः शास्त्राभुवः सिंवणः । शृंगीशो नथुराविष्यो रणसुखे काशौपतिः प्रतितो  
 येनासाविषयस्य भृत्यवट्ना हमीरवीरो जितः ॥ ६ ॥ अवतारं पुरा पुराधो-  
 न्तनो यदुकुर्वे जगतीहितहृतने । जयति सोऽयमित्यां सकलानिलाभवति भास-  
 सिक्षमहीपतिः ॥ ७ ॥ अथ भृत्यान्वयवर्णनं । श्रीमङ्गाखरवं शाय भव्यं भूयात्  
 स भूषणिः । निकुम्भो वव संभूतो रामो यस्यान्वयेऽभवत् ॥ ८ ॥ तत्रासीकृपति  
 र्जितक्षितिपतिथातैकलक्ष्मीपतिदेवत्राहृष्णवन्दन ततमतिः श्रीक्षणराजाहृष्यः ।  
 शौद्यैदार्थविक्रमिष्ठुरुषैसुख्यो न येनापरः प्रीत्या पाराङ्गुष्मावर्जितपदं  
 तज्जम्भराजेति यत् ॥ ९ ॥ ग्राम्भाङ्गप्रभवस्तत्सतमतिः ग्राम्भप्रतापोत्तिर्वीरो  
 वैरिवधूविधूनितश्चिरा यः श्रीन्द्रराजाहृष्यः । तस्यासीकृतनयः सतां सविनयः  
 सामन्तसीमन्तिनी वै धव्यव्रतसहयुर्गुरुक्षुणः सत्पुण्यपरण्यापणः ॥ १० ॥ चतु-  
 रसुरगाहृदो रेवन्त इव गीवनः । सौन्दर्यदर्पः कन्दर्पो यं डडानंगतां गतः ॥  
 ११ ॥ श्रीगोवनाद्रिलसिन्धोरुद्भूतभूतिस्तत्पुण्यकीर्तिः । जितारिचक्रः क्षि-  
 तिपालशक्रः श्रीसोङ्गदेवः सुरवाहुदेवः ॥ १२ ॥ शरणागतवज्पञ्चरः परना-  
 रीषं सदा सहोदरः । ब्रतसत्यपथे शुभितिः सततं वैरिवधूभयच्चरः ॥ १३ ।  
 स षोडशशतव्यामदेशं दुर्गुपुरान्वितं । सोङ्गदेवे दिवं यतो शास्ति तस्याहुसम्भवः  
 ॥ १४ ॥ आगे सूर्यसुतीपमोऽर्जुनसमः शौर्यं निकुम्भान्वये विख्यातः क्षिति-  
 पालभालतिलकः श्रीगोवनस्यामजः । श्रीमतुर्सिंवणदेववैरिकरटी कण्ठोरवो  
 यत्करो नन्द्याच्चन्द्रसुनन्दने ततमतिर्हेमाङ्गदेवविशिर ॥ १५ ॥ शारिङ्गल्लवं शे  
 अविचक्रवर्ती विविक्रमोऽभूत्तनयोऽस्य जातः । यो शोजराजेन क्षताभिधानो  
 विद्यापतिर्भास्तरभट्टनामा ॥ १६ ॥ तस्याहोविन्दसवंज्ञो जातो गोविन्दसत्तिभः ।  
 प्रभाकरः सुतस्तस्यात् प्राभाकर इवापरः ॥ १७ ॥ तस्यान्वनोरयो जातः सतां  
 पूर्णमनोरयः । श्रीमान् भवेश्वराचार्यस्ततो जनि कवीवरः ॥ १८ ॥ ततुस्तुः  
 कविष्ठवन्दितपदः सहेविद्यालालाकान्दः कंसरिषुप्रशादितपदः सर्वज्ञः (विग्रा-  
 सदः) । अच्छिष्ठैः सह कोऽपि नो विविद्युतं दक्षो विवादी कवित् । श्रीमान्  
 भास्तरकोविदः समभवत् सल्लोक्तिषुप्रशान्तिः ॥ १९ ॥ लक्ष्मीवराङ्गोऽविल-  
 32

स्तुरिसुखो वे दाधंविच्चार्किंकचक्रयत्तीं । क्रतुक्रियाकारणविचारसारो विशा-  
रदो भास्करनन्दनोऽभूत ॥ २० ॥ सर्वशास्त्रार्थद्वचोऽविजिति भत्वा पुरादतः ।  
जैत्रपालेन यो नीतः कतच विवाचयणीः ॥ २१ ॥ तस्मात् सुतः सिंघणचक्रवत्तीं  
दैवज्ञवर्योऽजनि चङ्गदेवः । श्रीभास्कराचार्यनिवृष्टशास्त्रविस्तारहेतोः । कुरुते  
मठं यः ॥ २२ ॥ भास्कररचितयन्वाः सिङ्गांतशिरोमणिप्रसुखाः । तद्वश्यकता-  
शान्ये व्याख्याया अन्नाटे नियतम् ॥ २३ ॥ श्रीसोङ्गदेवेन मठाय दत्तं हेमादि  
(ना किञ्चिदिहापरैश्च) भूम्यादि सर्वं परिपालनोर्यं भविष्यत्पौर्वं पुरुषावृष्टैः ॥ २४  
स्वस्ति श्रीशके ११२८ प्रभवसंवत्सरे श्रीन्नावणे भासे पौर्णमासां चन्द्रमहस्यसमये  
श्रीसोङ्गदेवेन सर्वजनसचिधौ इस्तोदकपूर्वकं निजगुरुरचितमठायाच्यस्यानं  
इत्यत् ॥ तद्यथा ।

इदां पाठणीं जे कणे उघटे तेहाचा जो सिंदू जो राडला होता योहका  
म्रासी तो बठा दिङ्गला ब्राह्मणाजें दिकहे ब्रह्मोच्चरतं ब्राह्मणोदिङ्गले ॥ याह-  
कापासिं दादाचा बीसोबा असु पाठी गिधवयाहकापासि ॥ पञ्चपोफली-  
याहकापासि पङ्गिविले आधये आदाणा चीलो भठा दिङ्गला जेतिधाये  
वाहिति तेतियां प्रतिपत्ति पली तेला । जेमविजेने भटीचे नभाय-नवावे भापा  
उगठा अर्जु अर्जु भापाचे हारिसूपाचे सूक तथा भूमिः चतुरावाटविशुद्धः  
३०६ याम —वाले—कामतामध्यत्र—या—कल पंडिता—कालतु—शीचउरा  
धाकोजीचीसोढीआ ।

## TRANSLATION.

Obeisance to the god of wisdom (Ganādhipati)—four or five syllables lost—perfection—four syllables lost—moon and earth—about twenty-five syllables lost. Stha—two syllables lost—dū—one syllable lost—tra—preservations—the planets and stars\*—three syllables not well made out.

Glory to Bhāskarāchārya, eminently skilled in Bhātta,† estimable in Sāṅkhya, original in the Tantra, deeply conversant in the Vedas, great in the mechanical arts, independent in poetical metre, intimate with the Vaisesika Sāstra,

\* Gaganechara.

† Ths Mīmāṃsā as propounded by Bhātta Kumārila,

like Prabhákara\* in the Prábhákara system, a Kavi in poetry, like the three-eyed god (Sámba) in the three subtle sciences, such as mathematics,† whose feet are bowed to by the learned.

Peace to the prosperous Yadu dynasty, with everything appertaining to it ; (a dynasty, in which, for the preservation of the world, the independent Vishnu assumed being.

In it the illustrious King Bhíllama flourished, who was a lion attacking the furious masses of noisy Gurjara King-elephants, who was skilful in bursting the powerful breasts of the Látas, a thorn in the heart of the Karnátas, and a crown-jewel among kings ; Jaitrapála flourished, who was the destroyer of the happiness of the Ándhra females with their husbands.

A portion of the Lord of Lakshmi, who escaped (or saved himself), from the world, descended from Jaitrapála, (and) who gained the utmost power on the field of battle, a controller of the earth,—Singhána ; who in the van of battle threw down the lord of Mathurá, the king of Benares ; a young child of whose servant defeated the warrior Hammíra. Formerly Purushottama (Vishnu) for the benefit of the world became personified in the Yadu family. He (Purushottama) conquers all the world and protects me. Now the description of the subordinates. May blessings attend the illustrious solar race, in which the king Nikumbha was born, whose descendant was Ráma. Of this race was the king Krshnarája, a conqueror of kings, devoted solely to the Lord of Lakshmi ; whose mind is expanded in revering gods and Brahmans, who has no equal in the qualities of bravery, liberality, discrimination, and prowess, and who by love (gained) the title of Dharmarája, possessed by the best of the Pándavas. From him (Krshnarája) Indrarája obtained his bodily descent, who was

‡ In the Mimánsâ Sástra. Prabhákara and Muniári Misra were the founders of two other schools, besides Kumárlila Bhatta.

† The three sciences (Skánchas) are Ganita, Hora, and Sanhitá.

of large intellect exalted by prowess, a hero who filled the heads of the wives of his enemies with terror. His son, discreet among the virtuous, and a high-priest to give the vow of widowhood to the wives of feudatories, whose qualities, are exalted, a store-house of merit, clever on horseback like Revanta, was Govana; on seeing whom, Cupid, who is proud of his beauty, abandoned his bodily form.

From Govana, the ocean of jewels, issued Sonhadeva, the praise of whose merit is wide-spread, who conquered the circle of enemies, an Indra among kings, who praises Vásudeva, a castle\* of adamant to those who sought his protection, who looked upon others' wives as his sisters, a Yudhishthira...in vows and in the path of truth, and ever a fearful fever to the wives of his enemies.

His younger brother, Hemádideva, rules a country of 116 villages,† with forts and towns, since Sonhadeva went to heaven ;‡ in liberality like the son of the Sun (Karna), in bravery like Arjuna, celebrated in the race of Nikumbha, the mark on the forehead of kings (*i. e.* chief among kings?), the son of Govana, whose hand is a lion to the elephant enemies of Singhana, whose mind is expanded in the good son of Nanda (Krshna), may he be happy for a long time.

In the Sándilya family was Trivikrama, best of poets. His son was Bháskara-bhatta, to whom Bhojarája gave the title of Vidyápati. From him was Govinda-sarvajna, like Govinda. From him was a son Prabhákara, as if he was another sun. From him was Manoratha, a fulfiller of the wishes of the virtuous; from him was the great poet Mahesvaráchárya, whose feet are embraced by assemblages of poets, a bulb of the excellent creeper of the science of the Vedas, who obtained the favour of the feet of the enemy of Kansa (Krshna), who has a seat among (or who has conquered) the Brahmans

\* Cage, in the original.

† Or 1600 villages.

‡ The following adjectives are equally applicable to the brothers Sonhadeva and Hemádideva.

with universal knowledge, with whose disciples there is nowhere any person to dispute. Full of good fame and merit was Bháskara. The learned Bháskara's son was Lakshmidhara, the first among the learned ; acquainted with the meaning of the Vedas, the first among metaphysicians, and skilful in the knowledge of sacrificial ceremonies. Jaitrapála, having recognized him as well-versed in the meanings of all the Sástras, took him from this pura (town) and made him the chief of Panditas. His (Lakshmidhara's) son was Changadeva, the best of the astronomers and astrologers at the court of Singhana Chakravartin. He (Changadeva) constructs the college (Maṭha) for the spread of the treatises composed by Bháskaráchárya. The works composed by Bháskaráchárya, the chief of which is the Siddhánta Siromani, and the works of his ancestors and descendants, ought to be duly studied in my college. Sonhadeva granted ground, with gold, etc., to the college ; others have also made some grants (?). Future kings ought to protect this, for the increase of merit. The syllable *sā* between two syllables follows *svásti*. In the year 1128 Saka in the year Prabhava, in the Srávana month, full moon, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, Sonhadeva, in the presence of the people, having thrown water into the hands, granted\* to the college of his preceptors as follows. (The succeeding portion is mostly written in a form of old Marathi, corresponding to the Khándesi. This is more difficult to make out than Sanskrit ; but the purport appears to be :) certain rates were levied on the oil-mills, sugar manufactories, on the total revenue collected (?) and on the corn, for the support of the college. (Again in Sanskrit :) in the same way, ground distinguished by the four boundaries 306 (?). Villages (again Khándesi)—two syllables lost—some letters have not been made out.....Panditas.....chauras of ground.....Dhámōji's ground (?).

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\* A syllable lost ; the word means a place, but here is evidently intended to mean the first gifts, Agradána.

## XX.

*The Ancient Sanskrit Numerals in the Cave Inscriptions, and  
on the Sáh-Coins, correctly made out ; with Remarks on  
the Era of Sáliváhana and Vikramáditya.*

IN 1837 Mr. James Prinsep published an article on the Ancient Sanskrit Numerals. He correctly noticed certain symbols to be numbers in Dr. Burn's copper-plate grants from Kaira. In three of them the numerals were given after the word Samvatsara, and in each instance the date was entered at full length in words. There was therefore no doubt of the numerical value of the respective symbols, though there was no clue to the era from which the dates were reckoned. This led Mr. Prinsep to examine Mr. Wathen's copper-plate grants, from which he made out a symbol for "three hundred + some unknown unit." The Bhilsa inscriptions were also examined, and a symbol for "nine" was made out. This also led Mr. Prinsep to examine the Suráshira coins, on which he had remarked behind the head on the obverse, besides a legend in corrupted Greek characters, a few strange marks, "not at all like either Greek or Sanskrit alphabetical characters."\*

Mr. Prinsep was perfectly correct in assuming the symbols to be numerals, but in regard to the value of several of them he was completely mistaken. Mr. Prinsep gave the following as the results of his researches :—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10?	0
०?	१?	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९८	:
Varieties?	०	१	२	३	४	५	७	८	९८	०

Mr. Prinsep's errors originated from want of attention to the side strokes on the symbol which he assumed to be three, and to the assumption that the value of the symbols depended on their position according to the decimal system.

\* Journal, Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. VII. p. 350.—Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, by Thomas, Vol. II. p. 73.

Mr. E. Thomas, in a learned Memoir on the Dynasty of the Sáh Kings of Suráshtra,\* clearly demonstrated what Mr. Prinsep suspected—"that these signs were uniformly independent symbolical numerals, each denoting in itself a given number, irrespective of any relative collocation; and therefore, that the symbol  $\text{፩}$  was equivalent to 'three hundred' wherever it might be found, and likewise that the  $\text{፪}$  and  $\text{፫}$  stood for 80 and 90 respectively, whatever position they might chance to occupy."

To quote the same learned Numismatist : "I then proceeded to distinguish those symbols of the Sáh coin dates that declared themselves severally units, tens, or hundreds, by their fixed place in the order of value, which was always fitly maintained, notwithstanding that the figures themselves clearly could not change their signification by any relative re-arrangement. Beyond this, I cannot claim to have advanced the inquiry in any essential degree. The important aid that otherwise might have served me in the sequent classification of the numbers,—the test of their recurrence on the coins of the Sáh Kings,—was altogether wanting, from the fact that the order of the succession of those princes was in itself undetermined."†

In the following notes in the Article on the Dynasty of the Sáh Kings of Suráshtra, Mr. Thomas was very nearly on the point of discovering the true value of the symbol  $\text{፩}$ , to which both he and Mr. Prinsep assigned the value of 300.‡—

"A consideration that undoubtedly tends to cause distrust in the conclusiveness of the decision, which assigns the value of 300 to all the known forms of the symbol  $\text{፩}$ , arises

\* Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XII. p. 33, note 1.

† Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, Vol. I. p. 80.

‡ Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XII. p. 35, foot-note 1.

from the circumstance of its appearing as the unvarying representative of the hundreds on both the coins and inscriptions [the Multye plates, J. A. S. B., VI. 370, may possibly prove an exception to this rule], and the singular coincidence which results from the facts that, among the many dated coins now capable of citation, and the fair proportion of *figure-dated* copper-plate grants at present known, not only must each and all, under this view of the case be dated in 300 and odd, but likewise, strange to say, the same identical hundreds as found on these different monuments must of necessity be referred to totally distinct cycles, whose initial epochs are removed from each other by an interval of some centuries at the very least.

"These observations lead naturally to the inquiry, whether, in the early stages of progressive improvement in notation, it may not have been possible that, whereas we find a striking want of variety in the outlines, and a marked absence of ingenuity in the expression of the distinctive forms of the decimal cyphers, that so, in like manner, the changes in the definition of the different hundreds may have been in part effected by minor and subsidiary additions to a fixed symbol, as is still practised in the entire Tibetan numerical system. It will be seen that there is a palpable variation in the form and numbers of the side *spur* strokes in different examples of the figure ०, passing from the occasional entire omission of the mark to the use of one or two of these lines, and in some instances (No. 6, Pl. XX. Vol. VII., J. A. S. B.) the simple lower stroke is changed into a complete subjunctive curve, making in itself a second character, similar to the body of the old alphabetical letter ख N. But, on the other hand, it will not fail to be remarked that there is much latitude discoverable in the expression of many of the unit figures, whose complete identity of value there is but little reason to discredit, and hence that it would be unsafe to assume a difference of power to be conveyed in the one case, by what is possibly a mere

flourish, which could not be similarly claimed for a like modification in another."\*

Beyond these important remarks on the side spur strokes, Mr. Thomas was not enabled to advance our knowledge of Ancient Sanskrit Numerals.

The next important elucidation which this subject has received, consists in the observations on the dates found in the Násik caves, by the Rev. Dr. Stevenson.†

Dr. Stevenson gave the correct value of the symbol for 10, for 20, and for 8 ; but the symbol for 1,000 was only partially made out ; in other respects he made no progress, but introduced several errors of his own, particularly in the symbol which he gives for 100. A careful examination of the inscriptions in the caves of Násik, Kárلن, and Kánheri, but especially of the first, has enabled me to fix the value of the symbols beyond a doubt. I now proceed to give the result of my researches in regard to the Ancient Sanskrit Numerals leaving the inscriptions at large to be published at some future opportunity.

The symbol for 100 is, as I shall show, ७ ; 200 are represented by the symbol for one hundred with one side spur stroke ८ ; 300 by two side spur strokes ९ ; the symbol for 400 has not been found. Strange to say, the symbol for 500 is not ५ placed after the symbol of 100, but the number 5 itself joined.

The symbol for one thousand resembles the Devanágari figure for one (१) ; the addition of one stroke (२) makes it represent two thousand, or double the value as in the case of hundreds ; and of two strokes (३) three thousand, or three times the value. To represent four thousand the figure 4 is joined to the symbol for one thousand (४) ; in the same way the figure 8 is placed after and joined to the symbol of

\* Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XII. p. 35.

† Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. V. p. 35.

one thousand to represent eight thousand (四千). There are other numbers represented by symbols and spelt in words, which are subjoined :—

## NASIK CAVE, NO. 23 OF MR. BRETT'S PLAN.\*

In the inscription of Gotamiputra Satakarni, the following symbols occur :—

- |            |           |     |                           |
|------------|-----------|-----|---------------------------|
| Line third | સત્તાનિવે | ૨૦૦ | ... two hundred, 200.     |
| " "        | "         | "   | ...                       |
| " sixth    | સત્તાનિવે | ૧૮  | ... in the 18th year.     |
| " tenth    | સત્તાનિવે | ૧૦૦ | ... one hundred, 100.     |
| " eleventh | સત્તાનિવે | ૨૪  | in the 24th year.         |
| " twelfth  | સત્તાનિવે | ૧૦  | ... on the 10th day.      |
| " "        | સત્તાનિવે |     | and in the fourth,        |
|            |           |     | 4th year.                 |
| " "        | સત્તાનિવે |     | on the fifth, 5th         |
|            |           |     | day.                      |
| " "        | સત્તાનિવે |     | in the (?) demi-lunation. |

**CAVE No. 16.**

In a nearly discovered inscription regarding the A'bhira dynasty, there is in—

- Line tenth  $\text{३} = \text{२}$  ... ... ... two (2)  
 „ eleventh  $\text{४} \text{५} \text{६} \text{७} \text{८} \text{९}$  शतानि पंच ५०० five hundred 500.

**CAVE No. 8.**

Inscription by the wife of the Commander-in-chief of  
Yajnyasri Satakarni:—

- Line first ଶତାହିତୀର୍ଥୀ ସବକ୍ଷରେ ଶାତମ୍ଭେ ୭ in the year seven, 7.  
 .. „ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତାଦ୍ୱାରା ପଥେ ତତୀଯେ ୩ ... in the demi-lunation  
 three, 3.

**CAVE No. 16.**

### Inscription of Ushavadáta :—

- Line first ઠાણું વચે ૪૨ ... in the year 42.

\* Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. V.

- Line second न्युम्प्र॒०५ सहस्राणि त्रीयि ३००० three  
thousand, 3000.
- " " ५ २००० ... 2000 (no spelling in words).
- ,, third न्युम्प्र॒०५ सहस्राणि चो २००० Kárshápanas,  
two thousand, 2000.
- ,, ' ५ ... 1000 (no spelling in words).
- ,, fourth न्युम्प्र॒०८०७ ८०७१ सहस्राणि चतुर्थ  
८००० ... eight thousand, 8000.
- ,, ४०५ वसे ४० ... in the year forty, 40.
- ,, ४०५ वसे ४५ ... in the year 45.
- ,, \*fifth न्युम्प्र॒०५. ५३१ सहस्राणि चतुर्तिरि  
four thousand, 4000.

## CAVE No. 23.

In another inscription of Gotamiputra :—

- Line first न्युम्प्र॒०८०३ सवचर-  
एकुनवीसे १६ ... in the nineteenth (19) year.
- ,, न्युम्प्र॒०८०३ पखेबितीये २ ... in the second demi-  
lunation.
- ,, न्युम्प्र॒०८०४ दिवसे तेरसे १३  
on the thirteenth (13) day.

## IN ANOTHER INSCRIPTION BELOW :—

- Line second न्युम्प्र॒०३ सव १६ ... Sava (Samvatsar) year  
nineteen (19).
- ,, " न्युम्प्र॒०३ गिष २ ... Gi. Pa. two (2) i.e. Gimha  
Pakhe) in the second  
demi-lunation in the  
summer season.
- ,, " न्युम्प्र॒०३ दिव १३ ... on the thirteenth (13) day.
- third न्युम्प्र॒०३ दिव ७ ... on the seventh ('7) day.

## CAVE No. 4.

Line first न्युम्प्र॒०४-०५ सवचरे छठे ६ in the sixth (6) year.

\* The letter न्यु is undoubtedly a mistake of the engraver, and ought to  
be न्यु—cha—chatari (four).

## KARLEN OR VALURAKA HILL CAVE.

In an inscription of the mendicant Harapharana, the son of Satupharana—

Line first **प्रग्नासुष्ठु** चतुर्विंशते २४ in (the year) twenty-four, 24.  
,, **प्रक्षेत्रे** ततीये ३ ... in the 3rd (demi-lunation.)  
,, **उपासनाक्षु** द्वितीये २... on the 2nd day.

*In Somadeva's Inscription*, dated in the 7th year of Padumávi—

Line first **नूर्मला** सप्तवर्षे सप्तमे in the seventh (7) year.  
,, **उष्णी** पचमे ५ ... in the 5th (demi-lunation).  
,, second **उष्णी** पद्मे १ ... on the first (1) day.

*In a Chaitya Cave at Junner*, on the Bhíma Sankara Hill—

At its middle, the following number is to be found :—

Line second **उत्तराम्बु** पनरस १५ ... fifteen, 15.

## IN CAVE No. 1.

In the inscription of an officer of Ushavadáta :—  
Line fourth **प्रक्षेत्रे** चतुर्दशी ४६ ... in the year 46.

## KA'NHERI CAVES, No. 30.

Line ninth **क्षुद्रेत्तिरुप्तु** कहापणानं  
सतानिवे २०० ... two hundred (200)  
Kárshápanas.

## CAVE No. 43.

Line first **७०९** ... (in spelling) in the year seven  
hundred and ninety-nine  
(799).

## IN THE JUNAGAR INSCRIPTION OF RUDRA DÁMA.

Line fourt **ह** = ... ... in the year of Rudra Dáma  
seventy-two (72).

## ON COPPER-PLATE GRANTS.

<b>कैरा</b> = 394	... Kaira, Dr. Burn, in words and figures.
<b>जृष्ट</b> = 380	... Do. do.
<b>जृष्टम्</b>    385	... Do. do.

## VALABHI PLATES.

॥ ४८ = 376.

॥ ५८ = 310.

॥ ४७ ७ = 347.

॥ ४६ ८ = 346.

॥ ५ ९ = 332.

## BHILSA INSCRIPTION No. 7.

(Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal,) vol. VI. p. 454.)

⊕ ≡ = 93.

## INSCRIPTION 2ND.

॥ ३ ८ ७ ≡ 33?

## ANCIENT INDIAN NUMERALS.

Nos.	Numerals.	Nos.	Numerals.
1	—	60	
2	==	70	॥ ॥
3	== =	80	॥ ॥ ॥
4	干	90	॥ ॥ , ⊕
5	॥ , ५	100	॥ , ॥
6	॥ ॥ ३	200	॥ ॥
7	॥ , ६	300	॥ ॥
8	॥	400	
9	॥ ॥ २	500	॥ ॥
10	॥ ॥ , ॥ ॥	1,000	॥
20	॥ ॥ , ॥	2,000	॥
30	॥	3,000	॥
40	॥ ॥ ॥	4,000	॥ ॥
50		8,000	॥ ॥

The Nánághát inscription, I find, contains a great number of numerals, but none of them are spelt in words. It records gifts of cows (or perhaps coins equivalent to cows), horses, elephants, carts, sapákas, and perhaps clothes.

The gifts were made at a great variety of Yajnas or Vedic sacrifices, and a study of these will, I trust, enable me to give the exact number of the objects granted, as these are regulated by the ceremonial portion of the Vedas. The King who made these grants appears to have been a predecessor of the Andhra Padumávi, of the family Sátaváhana, and by name probably Vedasri.

A correct decipherment of the inscriptions having enabled me to ascertain the true value of the various numerical symbols, it struck me that there would now be no difficulty in reading the exact dates on the "Sáh Coins of Suráshára." On looking at these, it appeared that both Mr. Prinsep and Mr. Thomas had read the first numerical symbol in the place of hundreds, as if it did not vary in any of the coins ; but it was clear to me that in some, the symbol was the plain one for 100, and in others for 200 ; accordingly a correct reading of these dates would, I thought, enable a Numismatist to arrange the "Sáh" dynasty in chronological order. I therefore repaired to our learned Vice-President, the Honorable Mr. Newton, whose acquaintance with the "Sáh" coins is minute and accurate. In going over the large and beautiful collection of coins in his cabinet, the arrangement, according to the dates as I now read them, agreed in a most remarkable manner with that which Mr. Newton had already drawn up from a most careful study of the coins for several years. I therefore left the subject of the Sáh coins, their dates, and arrangement in the hands of Mr. Newton, who will no doubt furnish the Society with a luminous paper on the subject. I have placed about 300 Sáh coins in my own collection at his service,

I have now only to offer a few remarks on the era, in which, I think, the Sáh coins are dated. In former papers,

I have attempted to identify the Padumávi of the inscriptions with the Siripulomái of Ptolemy, and Svámí Chashána, the grandfather of Rudra Dáma, with Tiastanus king of Ujjayini, noticed by the same geographer. I placed Rudra Dáma at the end of the second century of the Christian era, and as we have got his son's coins, bearing date 104 and upwards, the only era which would place Rudra Dáma's son at the end of the 2nd century is that of Sáliváhana or Sakanripakála, which commences 78 years after Christ. The Násik inscriptions in particular show that Ushavadáta, who is called a Saka, and who was the son-in-law of Rája Kshaharáta Mahákshatrapa Náhápana, adopted an era, which counted in his time under fifty. I am therefore inclined to look upon it as the era of Kshaharáta, or Phrahates, one of the Arsacidæ. The so-called Sáhs are also Satraps; the type of their coins is that of the Arsacidæ rather than that of the Bactrian Greek kings. The very expression Sakanripa or the Saka king, which all the old copper-plates and MSS. employ, indicates a Saka or Scythian king. The Sakanripa Kála is observed over a great part of India, in Burmah, Java, and Bâli; in fact in those countries to which Buddhism was carried from India at the commencement of the Christian era, and corresponding to the spread of the Sakas or Scythians over the peninsula of India. It is not likely therefore, that the era prevalent over so large a portion of the globe was derived from the exploits of a humble prince, Sáliváhana, whose capital was Paithan on the Godávári, as is commonly supposed. Indeed the word Sáliváhana does not occur in any ancient records or manuscript. A Sátaváhana dynasty appears to have reigned at Paithan about the time that the Parthian Satraps ruled over Gujarat, a portion of the Dekkan, and the Konkan; and the utmost that can be granted is, that the Hindus of modern times have preferred calling the era of the great Saka king by that of a contemporary Hindu Prince at Paithan. I now begin to entertain serious doubts

about the Vikramáditya era also. I believe that era also was introduced by the Buddhists or rather the Jainas, and it corresponds to the victory obtained by Mithridates over the Roman General Crassus, fifty-three years before Christ. When we remember that there is a difference of four years between the Christian era and the birth of Christ, we can easily understand the Vikramáditya era being dated 57 years before Christ. But I hope to return to this subject at length on another occasion.

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